THE

FOREIGN

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Histoire de Philippe-Auguste,* par M. Capefigue. Ouvrage couronné par l'Institut. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1830.

THE reign of Philip-Augustus belongs to two centuries, the twelfth and thirteenth,—centuries of no little importance in the history of European civilization. At a period like this, when events which have their origin in the progress, decay, and reproduction of past institutions are daily being developed, the study of the different steps by which the citizen has become what he is must be an occupation of the most lively interest. It is a remark of the author of the work before us, that we are apt to consider revolutions in a far too confined point of view; we limit the epoch by its visible signs and its finished results; but these results have been in long preparation. Society does not receive a new form in a day; the ideas cast abroad in one century become the leading principles of the next; in short, in the history of mankind everything is gradual;—a revolution is but the explosion of a train that has been long and curiously laid.

The period in which Philip-Augustus was a great instrument in modelling and arranging the internal forms of society, is marked as the age in which the beginnings of numerous great changes had their commencement,—in which they arose into obvious existence, without, however, then receiving their accomplishment. It was the dawn of the great intellectual reformation, which has since made such rapid progress, and is every day more and more expanding its propitious light.

The two grand elements which operated on society from the establishment of the barbarous invaders in Roman Gaul, and which maintained a continual struggle for predominance over the opinions of men from the seventh to the tenth century, were the material force of the conquerors, and the moral and intelligent force of the clergy. M. Capefigue has traced the fortunes of this singular but most important strife at length; we will do so shortly, as an appropriate introduction to an article on the Spirit of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, of which the reign of

Philip-Augustus is the great centre, and during which the results of the events of the two or three previous centuries showed themselves in the shape of results.

The annals of the Merovingians and the Carlovingians are filled with the quarrels and mutual encroachments of the warriors and the clerks; the one operated by the seizure of the lands or the treasures of cathedrals and monasteries; the others revenged themselves by interdicts and excommunications. However, at the tenth century the triumph of the Church may be considered complete. Its advantages over its rival are obvious: it was a regular institution, possessed a formal hierarchy, consecrated forms, a written code, invariable maxims: it pursued a given end with order and perseverance. The armed feudality, on the other hand, was but a confused mass of isolated forces—a government without a common object, sometimes prepared to resist, sometimes to succumb. What it gained by its violence it lost by its uncertainty. What ascendancy could the mailed baron preserve, who in the evening was seen plundering a monastery, and the next day, prostrate at the foot of the altar, demanding pardon of holy relics for his offences against God, and loading pious recluses with presents in expiation of his sins? Opposed to him and his physical force were the territorial and monachal clergy, the bishops and their suffragans, the secular priests and the different orders of monks holding their rights from the pope, whose absolute jurisdiction they maintained, all animated with a common spirit, a common object—the triumph of religious ideas and the prerogatives of the Church.

Nearly half of the territory of Roman Gaul belonged to the clergy of the monasteries and the cathedrals; in addition to which they reaped the tenth of the productions of the other half, without the exception of royal domain, baronial castle, or serf's cottage. Besides the influence of riches, the clergy possessed the influence of superior instruction. The little knowledge afloat was confined to them, the scattered elements of some disfigured science, the traditions of sacred and profane literature. They alone could read or write: they were necessary in every castle of France: from the suzerain to the least vassal, all had their chaplain to draw up their deeds, to recite the breviary, or enliven the long nights of winter with some tale or legend of chivalry. They were consulted on all domestic affairs, and they had contrived to connect almost every act of life with religious offices or religious ideas. The Christian faith of the middle ages was a vast polytheism, the deities of which were in continual relation with mankind. The catalogue of the church of Cluny exhibits a list of eleven thousand saints, habitually invoked by the people. The immense power of the Church was preserved in a spirit of unity

by the frequent assembly of both general and provincial councils, in which the clerks deliberated upon the means of maintaining the purity of doctrine, or of consolidating the authority of the Church. From the twelfth century to the thirteenth the great collection of the Père Labbe contains four general councils, in which all the bishops of Christendom were assembled to the number of upwards of a thousand, and three hundred and seventeen particular or provincial councils, in which the necessities of the local churches were deliberated upon and provided for by the bishops and prelates of the neighbourhood.

In fact, before we arrive at the end of the eleventh century, we find that the Church had become the unique source of all social existence. From it every thing flowed, the moral and intellectual order of men's ideas were founded on its doctrines, it served as an active and regular authority, the only rational forms of legal jurisdiction were established by it; in short, nothing existed out of its pale but brutal and unorganized force, which could not long oppose any effective resistance, and which was disgraced by every attempt it made against an authority sacred in the eyes of all.

At this period Europe may be considered as a great religious federative republic, governed by a clerical aristocracy, consisting of the Bishop of Rome for its president, and the rest of the bishops of Christendom, their suffragans, their canons, and the monks.

But the Church itself was destined to undergo its revolution: the bishops of Rome set forth their pretensions as true spiritual monarchs placed by God on earth: the famous Hildebrand (Gregory VII.) first established this maxim. The Church then lost its liberal form of government by councils, and assumed an aspect altogether monarchical: this revolution was in progress from the pontificate of Gregory VII. to that of Innocent III. The pope then became the only visible organ of the Church; and as it had previously become the unique source of power and influence, it naturally followed that the pontiff maintained a sort of universal monarchy over all the princes and people of Christendom; and during the period which forms the subject of the work before us, the proofs of this authority are displayed by the different popes in a manner not to be misunderstood. We find Gregory VII. establishing the doctrine that kings were his temporal bishops. Urban II. made Philip I. of France submit to his will in a point of private morals by relieving his subjects from their oath of allegiance. The emperor Henry IV. submitted to a similar humiliation; and in the long pontificate of Innocent III., contemporary with a great part of the reign of Philip-Augustus, we find this pope excommunicating the king, putting the kingdom under an interdict, proclaiming himself suzerain of England, and, in short,

attempting, and successfully, to exercise all the acts of a universal monarch. And his influence was not only exerted over the kings, but it was felt by whole masses of the population, who moved at his beck. In the eleventh century all Europe was put in motion by the voice of Urban II. commanding the delivery of the holy sepulchre. It was he who directed the enthusiasm of the multitude, and regulated its movements. Bulls accorded privileges to the crusaders and relieved them from their debts, and pontifical regulations interfered in the settlement of disputed rights and of the public peace, without consulting any authority but its own. Sometimes it directed its force against the East, now against Spain or England, at another time against the Albigenses; in short, the feudal population of the middle ages appear to have become the devoted subjects of the despotic pontiffs of Rome.

The pontificate of Innocent III. was the epoch of the greatest splendour and energy of the Church, and yet at that very moment its power carried within itself the seeds of decline. The grand principle of the Church was the argument of authority: its science began and ended in the official interpretation of the Scriptures, the regulations of councils and popes. A Christian owed his faith to his Catholic teacher, as the serf his service to his master, as the liege-man to his lord: it was no part of their duty to examine motives, or to look to consequences. But in the period from the eleventh to the twelfth century, the sphere of men's studies became enlarged, manuscripts were multiplied in the libraries of the cathedrals and monasteries; these did not all contain merely the traditions of the Church,—there were found among them the precious remains of Greek and Roman literature. In the twelfth century the classics had become familiar to the lettered clerks; all the pious books of the time display a familiarity with them, and even women had begun to devote themselves to learning the elegant tongues of Greece and Rome. Thus a source of instruction was opened which did not flow from the Church, and by this very fact, and also by the nature of the instruction, its authority received a blow from which it never fairly recovered, and of which the consequences were more strikingly exhibited every day. The philosophical character of many of the authors then beginning to be studied gave birth to heresies, the existence of which had an important influence upon the history of clerical power; and as, moreover, a branch of instruction was discovered which did not emanate from the Church and formed no part of it, it naturally produced a body of teachers devoted to its circulation. Hence arose the continental universities, the great birth-places of heresies; that is to say, of Christian notions combined with the dogmas of

ancient philosophy. But this was not the only rival institution to the spirit of the Church that arose out of the studies of antiquity.

Up to this time almost all jurisdiction had been usurped by the clerks, who decided according to certain texts, supposititious or misapplied, of Scripture. The lay jurisdiction was reduced to a few cases of feudal privileges. The discovery of the Roman law produced a great change; a class of persons arose who acted under a system of notions totally independent of the Church and of religion. The study of the Pandects also enlarged the circle of the ideas of laymen; and the opinions of the people began, in cases of right and wrong, to refer to entirely different tests and standards from those of the Church. The Pandects becoming objects of especial study, professors arose to teach the codes and institutes. From that moment a limit was set to the influence of the Church. The kings established another mode of procedure than heretofore, by the system of *provost baillis* in the different localities; the laws were written, and the towns and seigneuries had magistrates, who were placed in a position directly opposed to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This rivalry endured up to the complete triumph of the laical jurisdiction.

The progress that had been made in the sciences, although small, tended still somewhat towards the emancipation of the mind, and the weakening of the power of the Church. Every discovery which teaches a man to reflect and compare, gives a blow to all systems of authority. The twelfth and thirteenth centuries are full of the quarrels between bishops and burghers disputing for jurisdiction and power. In former times, the people had been passively obedient: the Pope had but to speak, and all Europe arose or sat down at his wish; but his wishes no longer found that prompt and enthusiastic accomplishment: the remonstrances of the Church, it is true, continued to produce an effect, but it was faint and temporary. The kings, in their turn, felt the influence of the spirit of the age, and, as soon as they could, threw off the oppressive yoke of Rome: their ability to do so depended on the disposition of the masses; for it is, in fact, on them, after all, of whatever character they may be, that all power is founded. This is a truth not sufficiently attended to in the history of the middle ages.

With the masses, that is to say, the great bulk of the people, always must rest the supreme force: when they are unanimous, and in motion, there is no other force in a state that can resist it. They have besides a force of inertia: the secret is to know what they will tolerate, and how much they will bear: this is the limit of the authority of a governing power. In the middle ages this

ation. The authority of the Church demanded for its maintenance the extinction of heresy; hence the establishment of the Inquisition. The violence of this atrocious institution may be considered as the last effort of a tottering authority.

When the people were emancipated from the slavery of the Church,—that is to say, when the Church ceased to hold despotic sway over the minds of men—for it has never entirely lost its power as a political body—the feudal institutions remained, though greatly changed and mutilated. The suzerain had erected himself into a king, and greatly extended his feudal powers; to the extension of this power the barons were still opposing a continual resistance. In the mean time another form of government had arisen; the people collected in towns began to be conscious of their force, and vindicated to themselves certain privileges. Scattered abroad in the fields, or collected in small hamlets, the serfs were the slaves of their masters' will; but when once they had gathered together in communes, had learned to sympathize with each other, and to act in concert, they disdained the seigneur's authority. In some countries they succeeded in establishing the independence of the commune; in all they accomplished a certain degree of liberty. We have before traced the emancipation of the people from the Church. The history of the communes is the history of the emancipation of the people from the feudal system, and in fact the foundation of society as it exists at this moment. Attention has been more peculiarly called to them of late by the very admirable letters of M. Thierry* on the History of France.

An observation of M. Capefigue on these communes is full of practical wisdom. He observes that the desire of liberty broke out in these communes pretty nearly about the same time; and during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the collections are full of charters giving the name of *right* to that liberty that was enjoyed in *fact*. Thus a popular revolution was afterwards sanctioned by the royal and feudal power. A grand lesson, says our author, for societies. The best way to obtain freedom is, to take it first of all, and get it written down afterwards.

The spirit of association, arising out of the necessity of mutual protection, was the characteristic of the middle ages. Every society fell into the form of a corporation,—a sure indication of

---

* The author of the *History of the Norman Conquest of England*, reviewed in our last number: the same, we believe, whose lectures were suspended by the ministry some short time previous to the glorious Revolution of July. Lady Morgan, in her "France in 1830," speaks with praise of a *History of France* by M. Thierry. There is no such work. She probably, speaking on the recommendation of some friend, alludes to these excellent letters in her chapter on History.

force was merely brutal; it was moreover incapable of exercising its real power from want of mutual communication: that is to say, its power was smaller than in a more enlightened state, but still it was supreme. All authority that has ever existed has acted on a kind of instinctive knowledge of the nature of this power. The feudal system tried to cope with it, by multiplying its own force, by means of armour, horses, and implements of war, the building of castles, donjons, and keeps; and, on the other hand, by reducing the masses into the vilest state possible, and shackling their exertions by every force, physical and moral, that they knew of. The clergy attacked them intellectually: they infused into them certain notions of their own sanctity, and turned the religion of Christianity into a further means of power, by convincing the ignorant man that it was for his *interest* to be guided by them, that his fate in the next world was in their hands. The seigneur bound the body of his thrall, the priest his mind:—the giant was blind. Gradually, with the progress of his intellectual improvement, has the influence of his power been felt; but even in the state of his uttermost darkness, in the middle ages, his power was known, and his temper consulted. They were afraid he would burst his bonds. It may be observed, that reformations, or great changes in the order of things, never take place till the masses are ripe for them. There were many Luthers before the successful one. The history of Italy, and even of Spain, presents numbers, as may be seen in Dr. M'Crie's excellent works on the suppressed reformation in those countries. Why did Luther, from his cell at Wittenberg, pour forth his bulls with more authority than the Pope? Why was he not seized and burnt like so many before him? Simply because his voice found an echo in every bosom; the *masses* were with him; and before them, kings, popes, and even armies, are powerless.

In the times of which we are writing, the Church contributed greatly to its own fall from the post of guide and ruler of social existence, by its excessive immorality, by its offences against decency, its open negligence of those rules it prescribed to others, and by prostituting its different sanctions for the sake of extorting money. As the ascetic virtues of the original cenobites had not a little contributed to the establishment of the power of the Church, the vice and luxury of their successors, in a proportional degree, undermined it. The popes and councils were well aware of this consequence. The letters of the popes of this age, both circular and particular, constantly turn on the reformation of the morals of the clergy, for they felt that to be essential to the preservation of the influence of the Church, no doubt perceived to be declining. The spirit of the age also required such a reform-

deal of their authority over the citizens. The municipal privileges partook largely of the character of fiefs, and in fact existed by and under the swords of the barons. A great principle was however proclaimed in Magna Charta. The immunities of the towns were recognised by the King, and the representatives of the communes were called to parliament to vote in matters of aid and subsidy.

In the heart of the cities interior municipal bodies were formed: all was corporation and exaggeration. Every trade and branch of industry had its peculiar laws, privileges, and magistracy. The glovers, the butchers, the fishermen, as well as the rest, boasted of their banners, their guard, and their provost, as well as the towns and the barons.

The cities became in no long time the depositories of all the wealth of the country, and the kings soon discovered that they were the readiest sources of supply. The baron, possessor of the soil, lord of a rude and empty castle, was a poor contributor to the wants of the state in any other metal than steel, which he was more ready to draw in his own quarrel than that of the country at large. The citizen, on the other hand, constantly exchanging his merchandize against coin, always had the means of relieving the wants of the king in the way most agreeable to rulers in general. But he who has the power to grant supplies, or withhold them at will, is sure sooner or later to be consulted in the disposition of them: this leads to the great step in the history of modern government, the representation of the commons in parliament by their deputies.

If we may apply the term "opposition" to the government of the middle ages, we may distinguish three bodies in which it was severally centred. First, the Church made its weight felt by its discourses, its interdicts and excommunications, by its promises as well as by its wealth: then came the barons with their opposition of pure physical force: at last it centred in the citizens, and had its foundation in their power to refuse or grant supplies. Of these three oppositions, the burghers were the one which gave the least trouble; and as it was the only one which turned upon the only sole true principle of government, viz. the interests of the governed, it is the one which has remained, has been greatly expanded and extended, and must continue to be so in proportion as the people learn the nature of their rights, and the art of self-government. We must not suppose that the commons were ever cited to council, because their advice was wanted. It is the remark of an old French writer, "he must sadly want eyes who does not see that the *roturier* was never added to the States General, contrary to the old order of France, for any other reason

the absence of a central authority. Although the establishment of municipal institutions was widely spread, yet there were shades of difference between those adopted in the towns of Italy, France, Flanders, and England. In Italy the municipal system was converted into a regular republican government. The cities of Lombardy elected their own magistrates, and treated of war and peace, as independent sovereignties. They differed in no respect from the republics of antiquity, resembling more especially the Achæan league of the latter ages of Greece.

The municipalities of Languedoc were constituted after the same model. If there were any hope of securing absolute sovereignty, the citizens never hesitated to proclaim it. Marseilles, Montpellier, Toulouse, and Arles, several times declared themselves republics in the middle ages, and maintained their independence against the counts and bishops who claimed authority over them. Wherever in the cities a power was retained by some feudal lord, it was the occasion of perpetual revolt on the part of the burghers. In the space of fifty years the inhabitants of Avignon put to death one of their viscounts and two of their prelates.

In the communes of France the municipal privileges were not so extensive. The communal charters guaranteed to them the elections of their magistrates: the meetings in which their elections were held took place at the sound of the church bells, in the public square, and neither king nor seigneur had any right to interfere with them. The magistrates regulated the police, the management of the contributions, superintended the walls, fosses, and roads. The cities had their own military establishments, a jurisdiction independent of that of the king, which was administered by their mayors and echevins. The municipia of Languedoc differed from the republics of Italy in this, that very few of them had been able to shake off their dependence upon some superior power, whether of the king, the counts, or the bishop.

The towns of Flanders were ruled by a sort of federative system, founded on their commercial relations. They were strictly devoted to their counts, but still so jealous of their municipal privileges, that they would admit no feudal banner to approach their walls without permission. The sole right possessed by the seigneurs was to man the citadel and appoint the governor of the castle. The citizens undertook to support the troops, in return for the protection and privileges they enjoyed from the feudal lord. Their exertions were chiefly of a mercantile cast; their commerce embraced all the known world.

The municipal rights in England were mixed up, as in France, with the feudal system, though to a greater extent. The Conquest was recent, and the military vassals had preserved a good

than that he was sometimes wanted to bear all the principal burdens and charges."—*Pasquier, Recherches sur la France,* liv. ii, c. 5.

After the junction of the commons with the other two elements of feudal government, the barons and the king, a sort of fusion was established between all three, out of which the composite form of modern states has arisen. The extinction of some feudal privileges, the aggrandizement of the power of the suzerain, and the existence of the commons as a separate power, enabled the government to assume a general character. Previously, the king treated with his vassals, the barons were sovereigns of their own domains, and the people only had privileges when they were collected in sufficiently large masses to take them. Since the period of junction, the race of power has been between the kings and the people, in which the former have had greatly the superiority. The kings took advantage of the generalization which their authority had acquired, and published edicts and ordinances, which, though they respected particular privileges, still gradually gained an authority, controlled certainly by the states, which the kings took care to call as seldom as possible.

The generalization of the royal authority was also greatly aided by the action of the Roman law, and the works of the jurisconsults, who, taking for guides the maxims of the Pandects, and for models the absolute monarchy of the emperors, warmly and industriously maintained the plenitude of the royal legislation and administration. The number of works written by the ancient jurisconsults is immense. The theory that it was the courts of justice which greatly contributed to generalize and render absolute the authority of the kings, is admirably developed by Montesquieu.

Such may be considered a general picture of the political movement of the 12th and 13th centuries: but civilization embraces the progress of mankind in other points besides those which relate to the character of the governing body. We will again follow M. Capefigue in collecting the facts which mark the developement of the human mind during the period which we have described as the age when so much was begun for the future, and so little finished for the present: this is as applicable to the *literary*, *scientific*, and *intellectual* history of the time as to its moral and political institutions. We will proceed in our endeavour to convey the character of these centuries, by noting down the facts which will of themselves mark the progress of the world in the various departments of mental culture.

The exact sciences in the 12th and 13th centuries had made but small progress: nevertheless the period which produced

Roger Bacon and Albertus Magnus cannot be considered sterile. The fault of the times was, that the sciences were made the subject of dissertation rather than of observation. The corrupt translations of Aristotle, derived through the medium of the Arabs, were the source of the philosophy of the age; even *Aristotelism* had not made any great progress; but so far as it was known, no changes were permitted in the doctrines of the ancients, but such as were drawn from the prevalent system of Christian Theology. Three celebrated men have written descriptions of the physical world, Saint Thomas, Saint Bonaventure, and Albertus Magnus, and each falls into the same train of ideas. The following short summary of them is taken from Brucker:—"The different aspects of the celestial bodies are the causes of generation and corruption. All the properties and faculties of terrestrial bodies are nothing more than the forms and conditions impressed upon them by the stars, and above the stars by superior intelligences: their motion is produced by a mutual but secret action: it is thus that the attractive virtue resides in an occult form, which the celestial spheres confer on the magnet. An element is the simple principle of composed or composable bodies: the quintessence is an existence which is distinguished from all bodies, and which contains in itself no principle of contrariety, and consequently of corruption."

Such verbiage necessarily rendered no assistance in the acquirement of a knowledge of nature. The absurdest discoveries and pretended facts are recorded in the writings of this age. In the *Speculum Naturale* of Vincent de Beauvais, the unicorn is placed in the list of the animal kingdom: to catch it, a young virgin must be employed, because she is the emblem of purity. The ostrich is said to hatch her eggs by the heat of her looks.* Rigord relates, that, after the taking of Jerusalem by Saladin, children ceased to have more than twenty-two teeth, and the Chronicle of St. Denys carefully informs us, that the death of Philip Augustus was announced by a comet.

The compass, one of the properties of the magnet, gunpowder, and the properties of convex glasses, are discoveries that belong to these centuries.

The most complete description of the compass is in the book of Guyot de Provins, known under the name of the *Guyot Bible*, published in the reign of Philip Augustus. Its utility to mariners is also spoken of by other poets and writers of the same age.

The discovery of gunpowder is attributed to a German monk: the much more ancient description of it by Roger Bacon would

* Vincentii Bellovacensis Opera: Specul. Natural. § 68.

The first Latin Book on astronomy is by the before-mentioned Campanus de Navarre. It is a complete treatise of the sphere, and contains a planetary theory. He adopts the system of the ancients, with the corrections of the Arabs, who were our masters in this science. The most remarkable monument of the epoch is the undertaking of Alphonso X. in Spain, who employed some Jews and Arabs to compile the astronomical tables which still retain his name, and which served for a long time as the basis of all astronomical calculations.

Astrology, of course, occupies a large place in the state of the sciences of these ages. Talleyrand-Perigord, bishop of Auxerre, an adept in the art of divination, wrote a special treatise on astrology: it served as the basis of the vast labours of Albertus Magnus, whose works contain an immense quantity of cabalistic theories, and of those systems of numbers and signs which are supposed to indicate the course of mundane affairs. Albertus also teaches us the art of preparing the simples, the alchymical mixtures of blood and mud, for the purpose of fabricating living beings: he gives us a description of these imperfect and horrible creatures, into which he tried to infuse the breath of life. The works of Albertus Magnus form twenty-one volumes in folio, (Lyons, 1631); they are composed of separate treatises on all the occult sciences.

Astronomy made also some progress under the more exact and rational observations of Roger Bacon. His labours on the magnitude and refraction of the heavenly bodies, on the equinoxes and the solstices, prove that his mind had taken the only right direction in philosophical inquiry, the procedure by experiment. He rectified numerous errors in the calendar then in use, and proposed to Clement IV. that it should be remodelled; but the time had not then arrived for that change. The ordinary writings of the times betray the prevalence of the most absurd ideas on this subject. Alberic, the monk of Trois Fontaines, speaks of leaps which he has seen the sun take. (Chronic. ad ann. 1212.) The chroniclers tell us, with perfect simplicity, that the sun passes the night in lighting up Purgatory: that the earth is sustained by water, water by stones, the stones by the four Evangelists, and they by the fire of the Spirit. The universe was compared to an egg, the earth is the yolk, the water the white, and the air the shell.

The little geography that was known in these centuries was derived from the Arabs. The Chronicles abound in the most absurd geographical mistakes. The blunder of Shakspeare, who speaks of the sea shore of Bohemia, probably after some old chronicle, may be taken as a specimen of the notions of a prior

seem to give the credit of the invention to England. He says in his work *De nullitate magiæ*, "in order to imitate thunder and lightning, take some sulphur, nitre, and charcoal, which when separate produce no effect, but when mixed together discharge themselves the instant a light comes in contact with them, from any hollow machine in which they may have been shut up, with an explosion which equals the report and flash of thunder." As early as the year 1200, the Arabs used this mixture in order to shoot stones and balls from tubes. Nevertheless the first mention made of the employment of this powder in France, is in an account of the year 1338, of Barthelemy de Drake, treasurer at war, in which is registered a payment to Henry de Faumechon for powder and other things necessary for the cannon employed at the siege of Puy-Guillaume.

To Roger Bacon are also attributed the principal discoveries in optics; such as the first idea of the *camera obscura*, spectacles, telescopes, &c. In a manuscript of 1299, the author complains that he is no longer able to read without spectacles; and in a sermon preached in 1305, it is said that they were invented about twenty years before.—(*Tiraboschi*, t. iv. p. 196—199.)

The progress of the mathematical sciences was not so considerable as the physical ones. However, calculation by ciphers was already applied to geometry, astronomy, and even to music and architecture. The principal object of these studies was to get at the mysterious connection between numbers and the occurrences of human life. The introduction of the Arabian numerals contributed greatly to the extension of the arithmetical calculus. The first use made of them in France was by an Englishman of the name of Holywood, (Joannes de Sacrobosco,) a professor in the University of Paris, in a treatise on the sphere. They are there used for multiplication, and even for the extraction of cubic roots.

There still exists a commentary on Euclid by Campanus de Navarre, which belongs to these times. But geometry was confounded with architecture, and certainly, whether by theory or practice, seems to have been carried to a considerable degree of perfection. In the middle of the 13th century Alain de Lisle defined right lines, curved and circumflex, the triangle and tetragon. Euclid's Elements began to be taught. Two MSS. remain of treatises of geometry in these times, written in French, in which all the figures are drawn in gold.

Mechanism made considerable strides. Albertus Magnus made a speaking head, and an automaton human figure, which arose and opened a door when it was knocked at. Roger Bacon made a mechanical flying pigeon.

age. Paradise is found in their writings in the centre of Asia, whence flow the four great rivers, the Nile, the Ganges, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. Gautier de Metz occupies a whole book with the description of the island of Méroès, where there is six months of day and six months of night. "As for us," says Gervase of Tilbury, "we declare the world to be a square placed in the middle of the seas." The *Speculum Naturale* of Vincent de Beauvais, which has been already mentioned, must be distinguished from the ignorant descriptions of his contemporaries. His work contains a tolerably exact picture of the state of geography in the middle ages. He gives a methodical list of the different countries of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Concerning Palestine, as his information was founded on the observation of pilgrims, his report is pretty accurate. When he comes to the north, then but very little known, numerous errors occur. He supposes that Europe is terminated by the ocean at the 60th degree of latitude: beyond which islands only occur. Albertus Magnus has rectified many of his imperfect notions on this point.

The spirit of travelling, whether under a religious or mercantile form, which took possession of the Christian world during the middle ages, with all the ardour of a passion, necessarily extended the geographical knowledge of the time. The second part of the Annals of Roger Hoveden contains a detailed description of Syria and the countries visited by the crusaders. The hope of converting infidels led several missionaries into distant regions at this period, and some have left interesting memorials of their observation. Such are the travels of Pietro Carpini, who made known the great rivers of Russia under the names of the Dnieper, Don, Jaik, and Volga; of the monk Rubruquis, who was sent to Tartary on a rumour of the conversion of the great Khan. He gives a living picture of the manners and usages of the nations he traversed in his journey to Caracorum. The most important of the writings of these travellers is however undoubtedly the work of Marco Paolo. He may be considered as the creator of Asiatic geography.

The habit of composing chronicles, as shown in the stupendous quantity of these monuments of monastic patience, might, it may be supposed, have had a salutary influence on chronology. For it was in a chronological form that they preferred to record the events of history; they put down the transactions they describe day by day. The confusion of their geography is, however, not more decided than that of their chronology. They are only to be depended upon for the events which occurred immediately under their eyes, and in recording these they differed greatly in their calendar. In most of the provinces of France,

in Burgundy, in Narbonne, at Foix, as in Italy, the year began at Easter; at Rhodez, Cahors, Tulle, and in Spain, on the 25th March. The first of January rarely occurs as the commencement of the calendar year.

M. Capefigue attributes the slow progress of science during the dark ages to the method of instruction. "Adopt," he observes, "a philosophical course, and the result obtained will show, by the liberality and elevation of the studies pursued, the admirable effects which flow from such a source. Shut up," he adds, "the intelligence in narrow bounds, and you will have an education without end, aim, or result." This may be very true,—*truistical* even as far as it is intelligible, for unluckily M. Capefigue is sometimes misled by sound,—but it seems to us that the defect of the middle ages was rather in the matter than the method of instruction. Observation had as yet done so little for them, that there was scarcely any actual knowledge to teach, and as, when their bodies are idle, men's minds must be actively employed, they occupied themselves in the boundless regions of the imagination. The intellectual occupation of the scholastic ages was the comparison of ideas: as that of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been that of facts. The one, it is true, is a barren study, and leads to no result; the other is the gate of all happiness and improvement. In composing their logical treatises of the times, the most thorny and disputable points were selected from the works of Aristotle and St. Augustin, on the groundwork of which the art of reasoning was taught. M. Capefigue says that this was not the art of reasoning, but the art of abusing reason. But the fault was not in the art, but in the subject; a constant comparison of ideas, without guide or standard, can lead to no stable conclusion. For instance, they discussed the interior structure of Paradise: whether Jesus Christ ascended into Heaven in his clothes, and whether his body, as administered in the sacrament, is naked or clothed? In discussing such absurd questions, it is possible to reason very correctly and ingeniously, but where is the result to be obtained? and if obtained, of what utility is it? This appears to have been the fault of the middle ages, that the intellect was employed *per se*, and with no other end than its occupation. Its influence on the happiness of mankind when employed in the collection and classification of facts was not dreamed of.

There was certainly one important error in the method of instruction, which was the laying down *in limine* of certain *formulæ* which it was necessary to receive as articles of faith. Science was divided by the doctors into four grand classes: theology, jurisprudence, philosophy, medicine: all four were subject to the

common method of authoritative instruction, which was termed scholastic.

Theology was one of the essential studies of these two centuries; and such parts of the Scriptures were selected for commentary and interpretation as fell in with the tendency of the age towards mystical discussion. The prophecies of the Apocalypse were a favourite subject. Albertus Magnus, Saint Thomas, Saint Bonaventure, commented on the most mystical parts of the Old and New Testament, the Epistles of Paul, the Psalms, and the sufferings of Job. We owe to this age the first concordances, and the division of the Bible into chapters, as it exists to this day. The study of the sacred languages was not entirely neglected. Two doctors of the University of Paris were able to translate the Talmud. The theological works of the time, used as text books for the purposes of education, are derived from two sources: the one class are commentaries upon the great book of *Sententiæ*, by Peter Lombard; the other are *Summæ*, or abridgements of religious science, and answer to the *Syllabus*, or rather the *Elements*, of the modern professor. The *Summa* of Saint Thomas, which has been handed down as an elementary book of theology, embraces three parts: the first treats of the nature of things, of the Creator and his creatures; the second of morality; the third of the sacraments and the incarnation. In this work Aristotle is referred to in every page, along with the Fathers of the Church and the texts of the Old and New Testament. One of the first books printed was the *Summa* of William Durand, bishop of Mende, under the title of *Durandi Rationale*, Mentz, 1459.

The study of the canon law was one of the principal branches of scholastic instruction. It was drawn exclusively from the collection of pontifical decisions, published by Gratian, in the middle of the 12th century. This code attributed absolute power to the Popes, as the sole ecclesiastical authority. Raymond de Pennafort, a Spanish Dominican, added five books to those which Gratian had published; they contain the Decretals from Innocent III. to Gregory IX. These two collections are the basis of the canon law, and were exclusively consulted by theologians, in preference to the councils and all the other acts of the church. Italy was peculiarly the theatre of this melancholy study. When the rising schools of the civil law gained a footing, a noisy rivalship was commenced between the two chairs, and the University is said, by a contemporary, to have resounded with the thunder of their disputes. Civil jurisprudence began to be studied in the 13th century, at Paris, Toulouse, Orleans, Montpellier, Angers, where flourished the celebrated professor Thomas

PUBLIC LIBRARY,
No. 050370
DETROIT, MICH.

Desfontaines. In Italy, where the Roman jurisprudence naturally regenerated with vigour and brilliancy, flourished several of its most distinguished professors. Alzon published at Bologna two juridical *Summæ* and an *Apparatus* of codes. Accursius, his most illustrious disciple, wrote a collection of glosses on all the texts of the Roman law at that time known, which displays a singular example of patience and industry: this work is still used in the schools of law; though it was only in the subsequent century that the study of the Roman law took its present enlarged and liberal character, under the guidance of the celebrated Barthole.

Philosophy produced nothing in the middle ages except commentaries, more or less obscure, on Aristotle, which were by turns upheld and condemned by the Church. It was about the 11th century that Aristotelism began to appear in the schools, and it reigned till the condemnation of Amaury de Chartres, who had applied it too boldly or too subtilely to the doctrines of Christianity. Amaury thus proved that God and matter were indivisible—"A simple being," said he, "is one that has neither quantity nor quality. Such is God—such is also primal matter; but can there be two simple beings? No—for they could only be distinct by qualities, or by parts which one had, or the other had not. But this is incompatible with the nature of a simple being: consequently it follows that God and matter are one and indivisible." Amaury de Chartres was compelled to retract, and his disciples were burnt outside the walls of Paris. Aristotle was proscribed in the schools, with the exception of his logic; at the request of Philip-Augustus, Cardinal Robert de Courçon forbade the teaching of the Greek philosopher in the University.

Medicine was the fourth faculty of the University. This science, which had made so considerable a progress in ancient Greece, appears to have been totally lost in the dark ages; except some feeble traditions of the art of healing, that appear to have been preserved in the monasteries. Medicine returned into Europe through the medium of the Arabs. The works of Mesué, Geber, Rhasès, Avicenna, Avenzoar and Averroes, were the sources of instruction for the Western physicians. Unfortunately anatomy and physiology were neglected, and surgery was left in the hands of the barbers. It was in the thirteenth century that anatomy, the true foundation of all medical knowledge, was commenced, and that in the West. The Emperor Frederick ordered that no person should be admitted to his degree who had not studied anatomy and the dissection of the human body. There remain some remarkable works on medicine written at this period, among which is the *Tresor des Pauvres*, or Manual of the Art of

Curing, composed by John Peter of Spain, who afterwards became pope under the name of John XXI. The most complete works on medicine of the age are those which were published by Gilles de Corbeil, canon of Paris, in Latin verse. They consist of two treatises, one *De Pulsibus* and the other *De Urinis*, besides a poem in four cantos on the *Virtues of Medicaments*.

Neither the object nor result of all the intellectual activity of these centuries can be said to have much advanced the true interests of mankind. Nevertheless, some of the indirect effects have had great influence upon subsequent ages. One of these undoubtedly is the multiplication of manuscripts and the formation of numerous libraries, where were to be found not only contemporary works, but also all the remaining productions of antiquity. Libraries then began to multiply. Philip de Dreux, Bishop of Dreux, had more than 300 MSS., which he bequeathed to his cathedral. "There is at St. Medard a beautiful library," says Gauthier de Coinsi, in speaking of the Abbey of St. Medard of Soissons. Vincent de Beauvais is in raptures when he speaks of that of St. Martin of Tours.

In these centuries commenced the great struggle for preeminence between the Latin and the vulgar tongue, the parent of the French language. Latin reigned in the schools, the sciences, the church, and the formal documents of public and civil life. It was taught in the grammar of Priscian, of Albertus Magnus, and the grammatical "Elements" of Alexander de Villedieu, and the *Dictionarum Locupletissimum*, the only lexicon which dates from this age. The vulgar tongue was the language of conversation among the laymen, and even among the clergy. In spite of the efforts of the universities and the monastic orders to arrest its progress, it began to make its way into the business of instruction. In the thirteenth century especially some books were translated into French for the use of the people. The *Gospels* and the Bible passed from the oriental to the vulgar tongue, greatly to the scandal of the Church. A curious fusion was made of the two idioms: they were mixed together in the rhymes and verse of the times, as in this example—

> "Je maine bonne vie *semper quantum possum.*
> Si tavernier m'appelle, je dis *ecce adsum.*
> A despendre le mien *semper paratus sum.*"*

The chronicles were among the first productions of the national tongue. The Latin chronicles are in general written with tolerable correctness, but they are bare and meagre enumerations of facts. Most of the chroniclers were witnesses or contemporaries

* Des Fames, des Dez et de la Taverne, p. 74. Fabliaux, tom. iv. pp. 485—488.

of the events they record; so that they either speak from actual observation, from the communications of eye-witnesses, or the rumour of the day. But it is chiefly in the chronicles written in French, such as those of Joinville and Villehardouin, that we find those traits of manners, that pleasing simplicity, or that liveliness and picturesque narrative which gives them their chief value. They are also less clerical, and written rather with feudal than ecclesiastical prejudices: they recount all they have seen in the course of their pilgrimages or their adventures in court and castle.

The number of chroniclers of the two centuries is very great. We have mentioned the names of the two principal ones, who wrote "*soit en naif français, soit en ramage de leur pays.*" The history of Rigord, though in Latin, was translated in "*biau parlier en les grandes et incomparables chroniques de Saint Denis.*" Guillaume-le-Breton, the author of the *Philippiad*, has also written a history in prose, which is only valuable where it continues that of Rigord. Matthew Paris is certainly the most remarkable of the narrators of this period. His chronicle is a bulky folio, comprising the national history of England. It is characterized by a spirit of opposition to, and independent criticism on, the Church of Rome, not a little remarkable in a monkish author of the middle ages. Jacques de Vitri, who writes chiefly of affairs connected with the Holy Land, presents us with a most interesting report of all that was known in the West of the history, manners and customs of the Saracens, as well as a very animated picture of the corruptions of the clergy. The work of Alberic, the monk of Trois Fontaines, is a compilation of chronicles anterior or contemporary. The same may be said of the *Miroir Historial* of Vincent de Beauvais. The number of chronicles of this period which relate to particular provinces or special events, such as the crusades against the Albigenses, is almost infinite, and they partake pretty generally the character of the history of the period.

Philippe Monski, Bishop of Tournay, wrote the history of France in Latin verse, "*en rimes dilectables.*" He begins with the Trojan origin of the Franks. Guillaume-le-Breton's poem on Philip-Augustus contains twelve thousand verses. It is a metrical chronicle, with metaphors and figures borrowed from the classics. Lisyer, in his Literary History of the Poets of the Middle Ages, counts upwards of 180 in these two centuries. The middle ages are equally abundant in sermons, epistles, tracts, essays, in short in all those kinds of works favoured by the religious spirit of the time. Sermons by Saint Bernard, Peter of Blois, and John of Salisbury remain, on reading which it is difficult to conceive wherein lies the spirit which shook the whole

world, and ruled the society of Christendom with such absolute power.

It was during the thirteenth century, from the year 1201 up to 1280, that the songs of the troubadours were chiefly in vogue. During this period occurred the crowd of *gai chanteurs*, such as Cadenet, Blacas, Giraud, De Borneuil, Boniface de Castillane, Pierre Cardinal, Isarn, the Monk of Montaudon, Giraud Riquier, &c., whose poems were so celebrated in castle hall and lady's bower. These men impressed a literary character on their age by their productions: they are the only ones of the time in which the spirit showed itself in freedom and truth, and are the best monuments of the history of the period.

The productions of the *Gai Savoir* are of several kinds. The *sirventes* are satires, general or personal, in which no one is spared, lord or priest, king or people. The *sirventes* of the Monk of Montaudon and Peter Cardinal are full of interest; the one paints the dissipation of the castle, the other of the clergy. The troubadour of Montaudon is especially severe upon the ladies; their infidelity, their ornaments, their gallantry, are each in their turn the subject of his caustic raillery. The *tenson* is a dialogue in verse between two persons on any question in the code of love, of poetry or chivalry: they are generally of a tame description, but sometimes exhibit a satirical turn. In one of them Rambaud de Vaqueiras reproaches the Marquis of Malespina with robbing on the high road. The marquis does not deny the truth of the allegation, but excuses himself by saying that it was for the purpose of giving away, and not of hoarding. Avarice was a crime, but robbery a violence in harmony with the feelings of the times. *Epistles* in verse sometimes occur, in which the poet addresses advice to his correspondents respecting their conduct in life. Amadieu des Escas teaches his mistress how she ought to arrange her toilette, to put rouge on her cheeks in such a manner as to eclipse the brilliancy of the painted glass, how she should soften and whiten the skin of her whole person, receive her lover secretly at night at the foot of the little tower, and take him to her heart. The *pastorals* are more monotonous than the *tensons*, and invariably turn upon the hacknied ideas of the rural eclogue. It is always a shepherd wandering in the fields, who meets his shepherdess gathering flowers; or a lord who in vain attempts to seduce the fidelity of the shepherdess, who prefers her swain. There are also some *tales* which have been used by the Italian poets of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and another species of poems, termed *plaintes*, which are elegies on the death of a friend or mistress. Sometimes political misfortunes are deplored in them, such as the taking of Jerusalem, or the unhappy

state of Languedoc during the crusade against the Albigenses. The *aubades*, the song of the dawn (*l'aube*), and the *serenade*, the song of the evening (*ser*), were dedicated to feelings of gallantry and pleasure. In the aubade every strophe necessarily ended with *alba*, in the serenade with *ser;* in the *ballade* the first verse was uniformly repeated.

The poetry of the *trouvères*, or songsters of the north of France, had a different character from that of the *troubadours*, or minstrels of the south. The latter are more gay, and more satirical: the former have less variety, are more monotonous in their tone, and also more elaborate in their execution. To the *trouvères* may be attributed those vast and complete productions, the Romances of Chivalry, the descriptions of a new world and an imaginary state of manners, a stock of heroes and adventures of a most marvellous character, but uniform, consistent and striking. Such are the romances comprised under the three great classes, 1. of the Round Table; 2. of Charlemagne; 3. of Amadis, which belong to a later date. To them and to this age belong the *Roman de la Rose*, and the *Bible Guyot*, one of the most faithful memorials of manners. The author of the last named work announces his design in these verses:

> " D'un siècle puant et horrible,
> M'estuet (me convient) commencer une bible,
> Pour poindre, et pour aiguilloner,
> Et pour grant example donner."

Every class of society passes in review before the author—kings, counts, barons, clerks, bishops, lawyers; and the vices of each profession are unsparingly depicted. " The clergy," he says, " had married three virgins, Charity, Virtue and Justice, but after having deflowered and repudiated them, they put in their places Treason, Hypocrisy and Simony." The *Bible* of the Seigneur de Bèze is written in the same spirit. In the *Chemin d'Enfer* of Raoul de Houdon, he puts many of his contemporaries, princes and prelates, among the *dampnés*.

The *batailles* of the *trouvères* are dialogues, like the *tensons* of the troubadours, in which there are frequently discussed scholastic questions of great nicety. The *chastiements* are didactic poems, in which the *trouvères* embrace complete bodies of instruction for the use of particular individuals. The *bestiaires* are fables; frequently translated from Æsop: at other times they contain bitter satires in the form of an apologue, the most famous of which is undoubtedly the romance of " The Fox." These poems of different kinds have still their admirers, and many find in them, not only talent and power, but also consider them as the source of the modern school of poetry. Be this as it may, and it is not a

little doubtful, there is one thing certain, that the historian who would attempt to seize the spirit of this age without consulting them, would commit an irreparable error.

Amidst a state of society so rude and so unsettled, the fine arts cannot be expected to have made much progress; nevertheless a style of architecture arose and was carried to perfection in these times, which is not surpassed for beauty and harmony, and aptitude to its purposes, by that of any other country or age. The cathedrals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with their elegant arches, their clusters of light and lofty columns, their elaborate portals and gorgeously painted windows, are monuments of skill, science, industry, and religious enthusiasm. The details exhibited in the ornamental parts show the utmost facility in the art of sculpture, and by their grotesque character and varied nature, add greatly to our means of understanding the history of the times. It is true that the figures want animation; and the same remark applies to the exquisitely beautiful illuminations of the MSS. of the time. The art of invention, the art of colouring, the art of grouping—all are there, excepting that appearance of motion and life which makes the difference between representing an animate and an inanimate object. This step in the progress of the arts of sculpture and design was reserved for a subsequent period. In music, however, a discovery was made, which effected a complete revolution in that science. Hitherto that which is called *accompaniment* was utterly unknown even to the ancients: it was tried in the cathedrals under the name of *dechant* or double chant, and was, like so many other good things, forbidden and condemned by the pope. The *dechant*, however, continued, and ended in completely discarding the old method of singing in unison, and accompanying the voice with the same part on the instrument. For this discovery we are indebted to that noble instrument the organ, itself a creation of the middle ages, in admirable harmony, both in sound and appearance, with the vaulted roofs and carved chapels it adorns.

We have thus, with the aid of M. Capefigue, run through the principal facts which mark the character and tendency of this age, with the exception of those which relate to commerce. Commerce is itself an element in civilization, the activity of which is rarely taken into sufficient account.

We have seen how much the liberties of Europe were indebted to the spirit of association which prevailed among the middle classes of persons during these two centuries. The origin of this spirit is doubtless partly attributable to motives of self protection against the force and discipline of powerful chiefs; but it also arose in part out of the necessities of trade and commerce. Per-

sons practising the same arts of life must necessarily come to some understanding respecting the general conduct of their business, and consequently they must associate. Also in carrying on commerce with distant countries, in venturing property far from home, and in order to facilitate communication, it was again necessary to associate. These wants induced the people of the middle ages, after the birth of trade and commerce, to unite themselves into corporations and guilds, from which union they derived great part of their force. The influence of their wealth has already been alluded to, besides which a moral strength doubtless arose from the commercial intercourse with other nations; for it is one of the blessings of commerce, amongst the many it carries with it, that, by constant communication with other countries, it greatly contributes to the acquisition of knowledge, and the consequent enlargement of the mind.

The merchants of the middle ages, feeling the necessity of protection from power, and being already considered a useful and valuable body as administering to the increasing wants of a luxurious nobility, demanded and procured various grants of privileges *pour le faite des marchandises*, such as safe conducts through the territories of plundering barons, and freedom from tolls and exactions of various kinds, which every *seigneur* of the time imposed upon the unhappy persons obliged to pass through his demesne. These privileges naturally gave rise to others, and as they were likely to be as beneficial in similar cases, they were granted. At length the citizens grew strong enough to take such as they wanted.

When communication between different parts of a country is difficult, the utility of *fairs* is obvious. They are characteristic of this period. Every city and village, even monasteries, solicited the privilege, as a royal or seignioral concession, of holding a fair on a given day in each year. Some of these fairs were celebrated over the world: at that of the Landit, at St. Denys, even Armenians were present; and the chroniclers describe with wonder and astonishment the quantity of merchandize exposed for sale, and the number of purchases completed within the short space of time allowed for traffic.

These centuries were rich in events, and no reign is more striking in the character of its transactions, or of the persons that figured on the stage of Europe during its continuance, than that of Philip-Augustus. The *personal* history, if we may use the term, of the time, is equally curious with the philosophical view of the elements of civilization then in operation, which we have endeavoured to take. The heroes of the age are innumerable. Our own Richard, the model of the warriors of his time, brave, passionate, ignorant,

coarse, unsurpassed in feats of arms, and gifted with a taste for song; Philip, himself a perfect knight in the field, violent in his wrath, wily in his plans, unscrupulous in his means, unfeeling and unrelenting. Innocent III., the ruling spirit of the times, the indefatigable, the indomitable, mild and persuasive as long as gentle measures were likely to effect his purpose, fierce, uncompromising, and inexorable when strong measures alone could serve his ends. His power was felt everywhere, his influence settled even questions of private life: disputes were submitted to his arbitration from all quarters of the world, and when they did not interfere with the domination of the Church, of which he was the great upholder, his decisions were prompt and just: his activity, and almost omnipresence in Europe, is one of the marvels of the age. The immense collection of his letters remains a monument of his authority. Our John possesses a large place in this history, but it is one of distinguished baseness. He possessed not a single virtue of his age, and there is scarcely a vice of any other for which he was not notorious. The sovereigns partook of the character of the chivalry of which they were the head; civilization and refinement had not as yet set them apart from their fellow men. In some relations they were suzerains, and in others vassals, doing homage to their own liege men; and the vassal and the suzerain were not unfrequently at war; in some great fief, as in Guienne and Poitou, the vassals had a feudal right to carry on independent wars. Under such circumstances a degree of equality and parity, both in character and bearing, existed between kings and seigneurs, inconsistent with the modern notions of sovereignty. Philip-Augustus was indeed the first who, in establishing a general authority, and concentrating a vast mass of power and property, first raised the throne of France high above the seats of the nobles. It was his system to undermine the feudal power of his *grand-tenanciers*, and his long and active reign enabled him to make great advances towards the completion of his project. When he commenced his reign, the King of England was the actual sovereign of a territory in what is now France, fully equal to all the rest of the French king's dominions. The fiefs of Normandy, Britanny, Poictiers, Anjou, and Guienne, compose the richest and most valuable half of France; while the counts of Flanders, whose authority extended over Artois, the counts of Champagne, and the dukes of Burgundy, owed but a formal homage to him as their suzerain, and as often carried their gonfanons against him in the field as on his side. At his death, the whole of the fiefs of England had passed into his hands, and besides greatly humbling the independent authorities of the great feudatories on the other side, he had consolidated and generalized

his authority over the whole of his own kingdom, in which previously there had been as many kings as there were castles.

With the view of illustrating what we have called the *personal* history of these centuries, we will select some details of a few of the events and characters which stand out most prominently on the historical canvass. They who are slow at gathering the spirit of the times from general remarks may perhaps get more instruction from the living pictures which abound in the work before us. We shall not dwell upon the great movements of the period, such as the crusade of Philip and Richard, which ended in the captivity of the latter; nor the expedition of the Franks to the East, when they took Constantinople, and made a count of Flanders emperor of Byzantium, and a count of Champagne lord of the Morea; nor yet the great league of the barons against Philip, which was dissolved by the decisive battle of Bovines, (which Mr. Capefigue compares to the battle of Waterloo); nor yet the wars of Richard or John in France, nor those of Louis of France in England, which have been so imperfectly narrated by English historians; to do justice to all these, a space would be required far beyond the allowed limits of an article. But by some insulated facts which will not take up much room, we can gage the spirit of the age. By the description of the establishment of a single *commune*, we will give a specimen of the manner in which these bulwarks of our modern liberties were built up, and it is not improbable that, abridged as it is from the contemporary chronicles, it will better conduce to a due impression of the nature of this struggle for privileges, than any thing we have hitherto stated.

The history of the commune of Laon presents as complete a picture of the progress and developement of these municipal guarantees as that of perhaps any other. The town of Laon was subject to the temporal authority of its bishop. It had no police, and was constantly the scene of the greatest disorders. The nobles and their followers exercised every kind of cruelty and injustice upon the burghers; the burghers, in their turn, oppressed the peasants and serfs; taxes were levied by the strongest, and property was not respected. In the year 1106, the bishopric had been got possession of by dint of money by one Gaudri, a Norman, who frequented the altar but little, and was mightily given to horses, dogs, and falcons. To these unseemly pursuits he joined the greatest cruelty of character. Among his followers was one of those black slaves brought by the barons on their return from a crusade. This slave had been one of the instruments of the bishop's cruelties exercised on the burghers: in the bishop's palace he had torn out the eyes of one inhabitant of the town, and

by his orders had assassinated another in the metropolitan church. The burghers were naturally exasperated by this treatment, and conspired to establish a *commune*. Gaudri was at that time in England with the Norman king. The burghers addressed propositions to the nobles and the chapter of the church, offering to purchase their municipal liberties. The deeds were drawn up, and considerable sums of money paid. On his return from England, Gaudri himself confirmed them, "because he had himself a great want of money." But the bishop had soon squandered, in horses, dogs, and gambling, the money of the burghers, and he found that the duties payable by the town, and fixed by the municipal charter, were not enough to satisfy his wants. He resolved, therefore, to abolish the commune, and he persuaded the nobles, and even the king Louis VI., to second his designs. The king came to Laon on Holy Thursday, A. D. 1112; the next day it was published by sound of trumpet that the commune was dissolved, and that the burghers should no longer retain their banner, their town-house, and their belfry. This news created great confusion: all the shops and hostelries were immediately shut, and the burghers took arms. Forty of them took a mutual oath to kill the bishop and all the nobles who had threatened the existence of the rising commune. This conspiracy got wind, and Gaudri was informed of it. His friends beseeched him not to go out on the day of the Easter procession. "For shame?" said he, "*I* die by the hands of such folks as them! If John, my black, was to amuse himself by pulling the nose of the stoutest among them, he durst not even grumble." However, he caused himself to be surrounded in the procession by his knights and servants, who wore arms under their robes. Whilst the procession was winding down one of the streets, the mob began to cry "*Commune! Commune!*" but owing to some want of understanding among themselves, this time the project of the conspirators fell to the ground. On Easter Thursday, while the bishop, in complete security, was conversing with an archdeacon named Gauhier, the cry of "*Commune! Commune!*" was again heard. At this signal, numbers of banded burghers, armed with lances and bows, clubs and axes, surrounded the episcopal palace. The nobles, who ran from all parts to its succour, were massacred, and the citizens by main force entered the palace, crying, "Where is the traitor of a bishop, the scoundrel?" Gaudri had hid himself in a vat, where he would not have been found but for the treachery of a servant. One Thergand, a serf of the church of St. Vincent, who was the ringleader of the insurrection, having taken off the cover of the tun, struck it with his club, crying out "Is there any body within here?" The trembling bishop an-

swered, "Ah! it is an unhappy prisoner." "Oh, it is you, then, master fox," said the serf of St. Vincent's, "that have hidden yourself in this tun?" Saying these words, he dragged the bishop by the hair out of his hiding place: the poor Gaudri prayed and supplicated, promising on the Gospel to abdicate the bishopric, and leave the country for ever. But his prayers were not listened to; and the serf gave him a blow on the head with his two-edged axe. The second blow finished him. The burghers cut off his little finger, in order to take his rich pastoral ring; his body was dragged into the street, and every one that passed threw mud and stones upon it.

When the exasperation of the burghers had subsided, they saw the danger to which they were exposed. Feeling that they could not resist the vengeance that was sure to fall upon the town, they resolved to put themselves under the protection of Thomas de Marle, seigneur de Coucy, whose name figures in all the popular tales which describe the violence of the barons of the middle ages. The Sire de Coucy promised them his protection, but only in his castle, for the town of Laon was incapable of defence. The burghers abandoned their town in tears, and it was sacked by the troops of Louis VI.; the lands of de Coucy were overrun by the forces of the barons; the victory was followed by vengeance: more than three hundred burghers were hung. But such was the perseverance of the population in the pursuit of their privileges, that sixteen years after the murder of Bishop Gaudri, the burghers of Laon succeeded in obtaining a new charter under the title of *Institutio Paci;* it was only, however, confirmed in the reign of Philip-Augustus.

The story of Philip's marriage with Ingeburg, the Danish princess, his disgust, his divorce, and his subsequent passion for Agnes de Meranie, his forced separation from her, her death, and again his forced resumption of Ingeburg by the authority of the pope, who laid the country under an interdict, and, in effect, deprived Philip for the moment of his kingdom and his subjects, is one which, in all its parts, is not only of great interest, but an admirable practical illustration of the manners and modes of thinking of the times.

The king seems to have married Ingeburg on the credit of the praises of the Bishop of Hamburg, who, in a letter to Philip, enlarged with rapture on her great beauty, and—as the clergy were always special in these matters—on the brilliancy of her fair hair, and the dazzling whiteness of her hands. Philip went to meet her on his charger, with his casque on his head and his hauberk of silver mail on his shoulders: she met him riding on her white hackney (*hacquenée*). He looked, misliked, but yet married her.

But it was with great difficulty that he could be prevailed upon by the priests to consummate the marriage, and he immediately resolved on a divorce. The obedient clergy then set to work, and arranged some genealogical trees, by which they proved that the parties were within the prohibited degree of consanguinity: they were related within eight degrees by the marriage of some great grandfather. The queen was ignorant of French, but when she was called into the Council, and an interpreter explained to her the decree that had gone forth, all she could say was "*Mauvaise France! Mauvaise France!*" then, after a pause, she added "*Rome! Rome!*" She meant by this that she intended to appeal against the injustice committed against her to the Pope, and in good time he interfered effectually in her behalf. In the meanwhile, however, she was sent by her capricious husband into the confinement of remote castles and convents, where her wants were so little attended to, that she was indebted to the charity of some churchmen for subsistence. Stephen, Bishop of Tournay, wrote a most pathetic letter in her behalf to the Cardinal of Champagne, which, however, does not seem to have produced its proper effect; it remains an honourable testimony of his humanity, and the sufferings and virtues of the unhappy Ingeburg. Stephen says,

"There is a precious stone in these realms which men tread under foot, but which the angels honour, and which is worthy of the royal treasury. I speak of the queen, shut up in Cisoin as in a prison, overwhelmed with grief and misery. We bewail her destiny, and leave to God alone to pronounce on the cause and end of her disgrace; but who has such a heart of stone as not to be touched by the misfortunes of a princess, the descendant of so many kings!—to see her in such a state of poverty, so young, so beautiful, so venerable in her manners, so modest in her words; with a face more lovely than that of the Ambrosian Virgin. I would say she is better made than Sarah, more virtuous than Rebecca, more pleasant than Rachel, more devout than Anne, more chaste than Susanna. They who are judges of the beauty of women assure us that the queen is not less lovely than Helen. Her daily occupation is to read, to pray, or to work; she plays at no game of chance, nor even at chess: she prays to God with sighs and tears from morning till the sixth hour, not only for herself, but for the king our sovereign: she is never seated in her oratory, she is always either standing, on her knees, or prostrate on the earth. This princess, so beautiful and so noble, is forced to sell and pawn her clothes and furniture for the means of subsistence: she asks for the means of life, she solicits alms, she stretches forth her hands to receive them. She weeps, and often do I weep with her: my heart is melted within me. I exhort her to put her trust in the Lord: she answers, 'My friends, my near relations are as much estranged from me as if they did not belong to me; my only refuge is the Lord Archbishop of Rheims, who has protected me, kept and fed me so liberally

since the commencement of my misfortunes.' "—*Baluze, Miscellan.* t. i. p. 420.

While the divorced wife was in this pitiable condition, Philip married Agnes, sister of Otho, Duke of Moravia. Agnes was a lady of ravishing beauty; and the monks tell us of her fair hair, which descended to the ground, and of her little foot and her white hand. She was, moreover, a huntress, indomitable in the chase, and on her fiery horse in the depth of the forest, like another Diana or Camilla, gave the death-blow to a stag or boar, with a grace which enchanted the whole chivalry of the court. At tilt or tourney, she distributed the prizes with a dignity and sweetness that won all hearts; many were the young chevaliers that wore her colours. The King became desperately in love with her, and she appears to have duly returned the passion.

The news of Agnes's beauty and accomplishments reached even the remote tower where the pious Ingeburg was confined: she confided her griefs to the bosom of the Pope. In her letter, among other touching things, she says, "By some diabolical counsel of the great, he has just espoused Agnes; more beautiful, perhaps, she may be than me, but not one who loves him more; while I, a sad plaything of fortune, am shut up in the depths of a castle, where I cannot even see the heaven to which I hourly lift my supplicating hands."

These letters produced but little effect as long as Celestin occupied the pontifical throne: but the scene changed as soon as Innocent assumed the tiara. The divorce had been granted by a council without reference to the papal authority; and he determined not to let so flagrant an encroachment of his prerogatives pass with impunity. What might have been overlooked in the injustice to Ingeburg was unpardonable in its offence against the Pope. On the other hand, opposition only strengthened the passion of the royal lovers. "Agnes is my wife," said the king; "no person shall separate me from her?" Gentle measures were at first tried and failed, and at last the fatal tremendous interdict was laid on the country.

The legate convened a sort of council at Dijon. The archbishops of Lyons, Rheims, Besançon, Vienne, eighteen bishops, and a great number of abbots were present. Two abbots were charged to summon the king, who had them put out of the palace. On the 6th of December, the bishops and priests assembled, each with a torch in his hand. In the dead of the night the clerks chanted in a funeral tone the *miserere*, and prayers were addressed in the names of the culpable to the God of mercy: the echoes of the church repeated the melancholy sound, and immediately the bells, heard for the last time, rang the dead peal. The Christ

on the altars was veiled, the last consecrated wafers were burnt, and the bodies of the saints and images of the patrons were carried down into the crypts. In presence of the assembled people, the legate, attired in his violet-coloured stole, used on Passion Day as in the service of the dead, elevated his voice, and announced to the multitude on their knees, in the name of Jesus Christ, that all the domains of the king of France were laid under an interdict, until he ceased his adulterous intercourse with Agnes de Meranie his concubine. A deep groaning was heard in the church; the old men, the women and children wept: it seemed as if the hour of judgment was come, and that all were going to appear before the avenging God without the succour of the church.

The influence of this proceeding can only be calculated by those who know the depth of superstition in which the masses were at this period plunged. From the moment of the fulmination of the bull, all religious offices were suspended, the images of our Saviour outside the church were covered up, as also those of the Apostles and the Virgin, the guardian angel, before whom the baron and his vassals were accustomed to kneel every sabbath and feast day. The cross on the steeple was also covered with black cloth: the gates were closed, and the noisy bells, which announced the close of labour for the day and the hour of prayer, were alike muffled: service ceased from one end of the kingdom to the other, the choir was silent and the monasteries still: marriages and baptisms were celebrated in the churchyard, and they who died during the interdict did not receive Christian burial. People left the kingdom to attend the ceremonies of the church in neighbouring countries; they flocked to Normandy, into Britanny and the fiefs of England. At many points of the kingdom violent commotions took place: the multitude attempted to force the bishops and priests to reopen the chapels, and to celebrate the holy mysteries.

Philip tried in vain every means of resistance, and at length was obliged to send two clerks to ask that the interdict should be taken off, protesting that he was ready to put the question of divorce to a trial of its validity. The Pope answered, "I am willing: but first of all let him send away his concubine and take back Ingeburg: then, and then only, will I proceed to examine the case of divorce, and take off the interdict!"—"My God! my God!" cried Agnes, "where now shall I take my grief?" Philip in a moment of fury exclaimed: "Well then, I will turn my back on the Church—Saladin was happy to have no pope." Philip assembled his parliament and summoned the principal barons and prelates of his realm: Agnes appeared before them, in a suit of mourning, in grief, but beautiful in her tears; a mortal paleness

marked her face, and her far-advanced pregnancy did not diminish the interest her appearance excited. The barons and the prelates, however, could find no means of relieving their sovereign: they decided that the king must obey the wish of the pope, that Agnes de Meranie should be dismissed, and Ingeburg brought back from her prison.

Agnes wrote an affecting letter to the pope, who only answered by sending a legate to inquire into the affair of the divorce. She retired to a castle in Normandy, where she died at the end of two months in child-bed. In the mean time the council sat at Soissons to deliberate on the validity of the divorce, and it was joined by envoys from the king of Denmark. The affair was every day assuming a more serious character, when one morning the assembly was informed that the king had all of a sudden arrived on horseback, and had rode away with Ingeburg on the croup behind him. Here was an end of their grave deliberation on the divorce, and the council was dissolved. Philip, however, had no further intention than that of confounding a council debating on a point that no longer concerned him: he again shut up Ingeburg in an old palace, and in spite of the repeated entreaties of the Pope that he would take carnal knowledge of his lawful wife, his capricious disgust remained in all its force, and it was only on his death bed that he ever again consented to see her.

The extraordinary power of the Church under Innocent is also strikingly displayed in the treatment of the Comte de Toulouse, when Provence, which was a fief of the king of Arragon, was invaded by the crusading barons, bent upon destroying the Albigenses by fire and sword. When this powerful prince—for such was the Comte de Toulouse—saw that it was impossible for him with his vassals and allies to make head against the Frank seigneurs under Louis of France, he determined on making his peace with the Church, which charged him with heresy or the protection of heresy. After promising to give up into their hands seven of his strongest castles, and taken an oath to confirm it, the Comte was admitted to make his abjuration. Advancing towards the sanctuary, an altar covered with relics, naked to the waist, a rope was drawn tight about his neck, and two bishops held the ends of it, as if they were holding a beast of burden; the Comte then pronounced an oath, beginning thus: "In the 12th year of my lord, the Pope Innocent III., I Raymond, in presence of the holy relics, the host and the wood of the true cross, swear, that I will obey all the orders of the pope and yours, Master Melon (the legate) touching the articles for which I am excommunicated, &c." When

the ceremony of reconciliation commenced, the legate put a stole on the neck of the count instead of the cord, and taking the two ends, he took him into the sanctuary, whipping him with a rod. The lord count cried out, and was red with shame: at last the legate gave him absolution. The crowd in the church was so great, that they were obliged to send him out of the church all covered with blood, by the subterranean passage leading into the fields.

We shall now pass to another aspect, in which the church, or at least a churchman, was exhibited to an admiring multitude. In one of the engagements between Richard and Philip, the Bishop of Beauvais was taken prisoner: he was found by the side of Philip, with his helmet on his head and lance in his hand: and in the course of the battle had made great carnage among the English. Richard treated him harshly, and locked him up in a fortified tower. He wrote a bitter complaint to the pope that a churchman should be so treated: the pope answered rationally enough: "You quitted the peaceful rule of the shepherd for the turbulence of war, the mitre for the casque, the pastoral crook for the lance, the cup for the cuirass, the ring for the sword, and you write me word that evil has befallen you. I am not astonished: you sought—well! you have found: you struck, and lo! you are stricken in your turn: however, I shall write to Richard to ask your deliverance." At the great battle of Bovines, the same bishop was again in arms, and distinguished himself greatly by his marvellous prowess. The venerable prelate fought with a massive iron club, for he had a scruple of conscience about taking life away by an effusion of blood. The chance of the fight brought him in contact with the Earl of Salisbury, upon whom he fell with his club, and quickly brought him to the earth. The bishop had by him a *chatelain*, the Sire de Nivelle. "John de Nivelle," said he, "drag this Salisbury along for me: say it was thou that struck him, for I am doing unlawful work. I should not change my staff for this club." Saying these words, he went forward gaily upon the English, knocking them down with his club, right and left.

Among other signs of the times recorded in the history of this remarkable reign, is the crusade of the children. The spirit of an age may be indicated by the turn of the infantine mind: in a country engaged in a popular war, the children will always be found playing at soldiers. But the religious duty of the Crusades had taken such universal hold of men's minds, that it produced a movement, even among the children of Europe, of a kind unparalleled in the history of the world.

In the year 1212, many thousands of boys and girls abandoned

their homes, not only in France, but in Germany and Italy, giving out that they were bent upon delivering the Holy Land. The eldest were not more than eighteen years of age. It was in vain that their parents attempted to restrain them. They watched opportunities of escape, and got away by making holes in the walls; and sallied forth from the paternal mansion with as much joy as if they had been going to a festival. The fate of these unhappy children, as may be supposed, was most unfortunate; they were entrapped in numbers by merchants of Venice, Genoa and Marseilles, who were at that time engaged in the infamous traffic of supplying the seraglios of the East with children. A great many were shipped in the Mediterranean ports, and many died of hunger and fatigue in the long journies to which they had voluntarily devoted themselves, but for which their strength was utterly inadequate.

It would be very ungrateful, after having made such copious use of a book as we have done in this article, to speak ill of the author, and therefore we feel easy in strongly recommending M. Capefigue's history to general attention. It is written after a plan as yet unpractised in England, and which can scarcely be called history. It consists almost wholly of a reproduction of morsels of the old contemporary writers, monks, chroniclers, poets and letter writers, frequently in their own words, and almost always partaking of their simplicity, at the same time occasionally varied by a remark which belongs to the present century. In itself this style of weaving history produces a kind of party-coloured performance, which is far from being agreeable at first sight: a little attentive contemplation, however, shows that the natural result is that of deeply imbuing the reader in the colours of the time.

ART. II.—1. *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie.* Von Karl Otfried Müller. (An Introduction to a Scientific System of Mythology. By C. O. Müller.) Göttingen. 1825. 8vo.

2. *Aglaophamus, sive de Theologiæ Mysticæ Græcorum causis libri tres.* Scripsit Chr. Augustus Lobeck, idemque poetarum Orphicorum dispersas reliquias collegit. Königsberg. 1829. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE subject of mythology may be considered in two points of view, either in regard to the *religion* or the *history* of ancient nations. The first branch of this subject comprises investigations into the origin and nature of the different modes of worship, the rites, ceremonies, festivals, and sacred symbols prevailing

among the nations whose mythology we possess; and it is this which has attracted the chief notice of the writers of France and England. These authors, actuated by different motives, either like Volney, Dupuis and others, by a hatred, or like Bryant, by a love of the Christian religion, have by the most absurd etymogies, the most fanciful hypotheses, and the most illogical reasoning, attempted to set up a fabric which the faintest breath of criticism at once demolishes. Though the efforts of these writers have probably been more barren of good results than those of any other labourers in the field of literature, yet the utter worthlessness of their books is to be attributed, not to the nature of the subject, (for the history of religion is the history of the human mind,) but to their eagerness to explain upon one theory, or to refer to one origin, a mass of phenomena wholly unconnected, and springing from numberless causes. Dupuis and Volney with their astronomy, and Bryant with Noah and the ark, resemble the advertising quack, whose infallible and instantaneous cure for *all* diseases would probably turn out not to be of use in *one*. But in explaining the sacred symbols so prevalent in the ancient religions of India, Egypt and Greece, a new path has been struck out by several modern writers, avoiding the absurdities of the authors just mentioned. Whatever errors may have been committed by the symbolical mythologists, and to howsoever well-grounded objections parts of their systems may be liable, it cannot be denied that the labours of Creuzer and others on the continent, and in this country of Mr. Payne Knight,* have thrown much light on the modes of expression adopted by the early priests and religionists for the objects and powers of nature which they worshipped. The general use of these holy symbols is proved by their constant occurrence on the temples of Hindostan and Egypt, and the coins of the Greek states, which last were exclusively reserved for sacred devices; nor were ever, till late times, polluted by portraits of human princes. The *historical* school of mythology has had no followers in this country, nor indeed in any country but Germany. The attempts of some of the French and English historians, such as Mitford, Raoul-Rochette, and many others, to elicit history from fable, are ludicrous in the extreme. Instead of perceiving that the legends of mythology bear only an *analogy* to the truth, that they are false when understood literally, but frequently true when interpreted metaphorically, they have

* See his *Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Art and Mythology*. London. 1818. Printed for private distribution, and afterwards published in the Classical Journal. It was intended to be prefixed to the second volume of "Select Specimens of Ancient Sculpture," published by the Society of Dilettanti, which is, we understand, in course of preparation.

taken them as the narratives of real facts, embellished by credulity or a poetical imagination; and having struck out the wonders, they took the *caput mortuum* which remained for real history. It was left to the inquiring genius of the Germans to detect the fallaciousness of this process, to discover the real nature of the legendary accounts of early nations, and the possibility of extracting truth from fiction. Among those who have clearly perceived the true difference between traditional and contemporary history, and have assisted by their researches to unriddle the secrets of mythology, Otfried Müller, the celebrated author of *Orchomenus, the Dorians, the Etruscans,* and other works, stands in the first rank. His sketch of a system of mythology was in some measure intended to set forth the principles on which the mythological investigations in his former works had been founded; he has, however, gone through the subject in a regular order, and illustrated his positions with numerous and well-chosen examples. At the end of the volume is added a statement of the mythological systems of Heyne, Creuzer, Voss, Hermann, Buttmann and Welcker, the chief writers on this branch of learning, together with an examination of their respective merits. On this and several other subjects treated in this work with great learning and ability our limits prevent us from entering; but we shall proceed to lay before our readers an abstract of that part of Mr. Müller's work which relates to the nature, origin and treatment of mythological fables: while in the discussions respecting the religion, and particularly the mystical worship and ceremonies of the Greeks, we shall be assisted by the late admirable work of Lobeck, of which more will be said hereafter.

The fables of mythology (μῦθοι), and the mythological collections, such as the work of Apollodorus, the κύκλος μυθικὸς of Dionysius, &c. consisted of narrations of the acts and adventures of certain individuals belonging to a time divided with tolerable precision from the regular history of Greece. These stories are not true in their plain and literal sense, but must be interpreted and explained before their proper meaning can be understood. To assist us in this solution we have the Greek language, which shows that many mythological names have a meaning corresponding to the acts of the persons designated by them, and a knowledge of the local circumstances of the Greek territory, of the history, religion and civil institutions of the Greeks. By these means it may be observed that all mythological fables are either statements, clothed indeed in a peculiar language, of real facts; or are merely fanciful, and represent nothing derived from outward observation. Of the first class are the historical fables, such as the national genealogies, the legends respecting the foun-

dation of the Greek cities and colonies: of the second, the fictions concerning the attributes and actions of the gods. Frequently these two kinds of fable are mixed in the same legend, religious tales being often invented to account for some actually existing worship or sacred solemnities. Thus it was said that Ceres in her wanderings came to Eleusis, and taught the Eleusinians her mysteries. The existence of the mysteries of Ceres at Eleusis was a real fact, but the story that Ceres had taught them to her votaries there, neither was true, nor bore any analogy to the truth.

Our knowledge of the Grecian mythology is derived from the poets and prose writers. From almost every kind of both classes some information may be derived—from the epic, lyric, tragic and elegiac poets, the writers of hymns and idyls—from the early and late compilers of mythology, historians, geographers, orators, sophists, grammarians and ecclesiastical writers. There is, perhaps, scarcely an ancient author in whom some mythological notice is not to be found. Hence the great difficulty of treating the subject; as a knowledge is required far more extensive than is necessary for purely historical inquiry, and the characters and peculiarities of the different writers must be estimated before their style of narrative and application of the allegorical and fanciful legends of antiquity can be rightly seized.

From an examination of the different poets and prose writers of Greece as regards their mode of handling mythological fables, it follows that we are not in possession of the original source of these fables or μῦθοι, but that the Greek writers borrowed them from some more remote origin. These fables were never the work of pure invention; nor did the Greeks ever receive the story of the Choice of Hercules by Prodicus, of Eros and Anteros, &c. into their works of mythology: a μῦθος, meaning originally a story or narration, came to signify an *ancient* story or legend, referring to a time separated both by distance and character from the historical age—a time in which prodigies were still common, in which the heroes and gods still lived together, which conferred nobility on all who could trace up to it their pedigree, and which long furnished the only subjects for poetry, painting and sculpture. The common source from which all these writers borrowed, who did not borrow from each other, was *popular tradition*. That many of these fables could not have been invented by the poets is proved by the accurate knowledge which they show of the districts to which they refer, and the temples, worships and fates of the native tribes. For it cannot be supposed either that there was a poet to every small region of Greece, or that there were wandering bards who travelled over Greece in order to col-

lect materials for mythological fables. These popular legends were not invented by the priests or *cicerones* of a particular sanctuary, or by a caste of men elevated by their knowledge above the mass of the people, but were the forms which the popular narratives and fictions naturally took at an early era of the Greek nation. This distinction between the original source of mythological fables and of our knowledge of them, between the writers who have recorded and embellished and the people who invented them, is of great importance; but though perfectly evident when stated, it has been often implicitly denied. Thus it has been argued that a certain fable could not have existed in the time of Homer, *because* it does not occur in the Iliad or Odyssey; as if Homer must have mentioned every legend, profane or religious, which he had ever heard; as if many traditions might not have lived in the mouths of the Delphians, Thessalians, and other tribes of Greece, without having reached the ears of the Ionic poet. The fable must itself furnish its own history: an analysis of its component parts will frequently, though not always, show, approximately, the date and object of its invention, and the race of its inventors. At the same time a chronological arrangement of the authorities to a fabulous legend is not only useful, but necessary. Of the various versions of the same fable given by different writers, that recorded by the most ancient writer is probably the most ancient. A comparison of these varieties frequently throws much light on the objects and interests of those who successively changed the legend. In determining the time when legendary fables arose, the greatest assistance is derived from the dates of colonies; for instance, Byzantium was founded in the 30th Olympiad (about 660 B. C.) by Megarians, with whom were a party of Argives. The fables of Io connected with the worship of Juno (who had a temple on the citadels both of Argos and Byzantium) were local at Argos, and the place was there shown where she had fed in the shape of a cow. Now Io was also said to have fed as a cow on the promontory of Κέρας (" the Horn"), near Byzantium, and to have borne a daughter, named Κερόεσσα (" the Horned") who was the mother of Byzas, the national hero. The name *Bosporus* appears to have had the same origin. It is evident that these fables were invented in their new form *after* the thirtieth olympiad, and probably not long after, as there was not in later times such a connection between Argos and Byzantium as to cause a transmission of worship and sacred legends. In like manner it may be shown that the fables of the Alpheus and Arethusa, and of Medea and Jason, were not earlier than the fifth olympiad; and many other examples might be given of legends which thus arose in the historical age.

But the difficulty of this process is much increased when we come to events lying beyond the historical period. Indeed it is evidently impossible to determine the exact date of any event in an age anterior to authentic chronology. We must therefore be satisfied with ascertaining the succession, or the relative antiquity, of mythological fables which were invented before the time of memory. Many examples might be given of such investigations; but without entering on a subject which would be unintelligible unless treated in detail, it is sufficiently plain that the largest number of mythological legends arose in the fabulous age, and that they preceded the existence of a regular school of poetry. The invention of such fables did not, however, altogether expire till the time when philosophy and history began to flourish in Greece. Such records put an end to a mode of narration fitted only for oral tradition. A like cessation of these fictions would also have been caused by the revolution in the religious opinions of Greece. In the earliest time the various religious ideas and feelings of this nation produced an endless variety of mythological fables, which the next age handed down with implicit faith as the history of a miraculous antiquity; then followed the age of Pindar, when religious feelings were influenced by philosophical speculations opposed to many of the ancient fables; and lastly, the age of sophistical explanation, when Euripides, and other philosophical poets and poetical philosophers, treated the ancient fables, not as primitive modes of expression, but as the vehicles of their own perverse notions and subtle refinements. These changes, however, only took place in the cultivated part of the Greek nation; and primitive tribes, such as the Arcadians, which still retained their ancient simplicity and barbarism, might still retain also their ancient mode of expression. But it is this very circumstance which forms the difference between the genuine mythological fable and the idle tale of fiction. Such stories arise in the lowest classes of society, and do not harmonize with the spirit of the age, bearing about the same relation to the legends of mythology as a belief in ghosts to true religion.

The great difficulty in all mythological researches is to separate the embellishment of the poet, the *rationalizing* of the historian, and the explanation of the philosopher, from the true body of the ancient legend; to discriminate between the original and the altered form. The chief business of the poets was to assign motives and reasons for the acts of their heroes—to *account for* the circumstances related by tradition. Thus Æschylus found in Hesiod that Prometheus stole fire from heaven, that he was chained to a rock, &c.; but the motives for these acts, the rebellious and proud thoughts of the enemy of the gods and the friend

of man, he drew from his own fancy. (We may compare this with the first part of the Paradise Lost, the outlines of which alone are derived from the sacred tradition; but the councils and characters of the infernal princes, their "considerate pride waiting revenge," their fierceness made fiercer by despair, their sullen and inactive discontent, came from the mind of Milton.) On the whole, where the original legend often embodied the feelings and acts of large masses of men into one hero, the poets individualized these characters, and gave them personal wishes and dispositions. Thus it has happened, that where the original tradition contained in it a germ of historical instruction, the poets have changed the representative of a nation into a single man, and described as the casual and unimportant acts of an individual, feelings and measures in which large numbers coincided. The poetry of Greece likewise had great influence in assimilating the different local worships and deities, and in this respect its powers were far greater than that either of intercourse between different races, or the authority of distinguished sanctuaries. Thus, in the ancient mythology of Athens, Athene or Minerva, attended by the three Agraulian nymphs, was a goddess presiding over agriculture. In Homer, however, she is represented as the goddess of practical wisdom, and this character is extended by later poets to the ancient Attic legends, where her attributes were originally quite different.

"Hence," says Mr. Müller, "the Greek nation in general, at least wherever the influence of poets reached, had scarcely any other notion of a deity than that which they had derived from Homer; and the earlier and discordant ideas left only in some ancient names, ceremonies and obscure local legends, dubious traces of their former existence. It was this astonishing influence of poetry which caused Herodotus to make the assertion (which, however, must be received with great limitations) that 'Homer and Hesiod taught the Greeks their theogony, gave the gods their names, allotted to each his office and art, and established their forms.'"—p. 213.

In cases where the local tradition represents the deity under a different character from that in which it appears in the received poetical mythology, there is no doubt that the former is the more ancient, as it could scarcely have arisen after the other notions had become generally prevalent.

As to the treatment which the fabulous legends received from the ancient historians, it is very necessary to observe, that when a definite statement respecting some ancient race occurs in Herodotus or Thucydides, it is not to be set down as an indubitable truth; and a mythological account in Pausanias relating to the same subject to be thought unworthy of serious notice. But in

general the historical statement is the *result;* the fabulous legend is the source from which the historian drew his information, as neither Herodotus nor his successors had on the matters of early history any other authority than popular tradition. The object, therefore, in examining such accounts derived from tradition, is to single out the statements from which the narrative of the historian appears to be derived, to examine how far these accounts bear out the relation founded upon them, and to discover what parts of the supposed history were gained by inference, and how far these inferences are correct.

But, in order to restore a mythological tale to its original state, a different process is required; the whole must be resolved into its component parts, and each be separately examined. A process, the very reverse of that which these fables had undergone in the hands of the ancient compilers and revisers, who sought to form them into uniform bodies, having an apparent harmony and connexion. At every step the mythologist will discover what discordant elements, both in meaning, place, and time, have been moulded by a truly levelling spirit into one consecutive fable. The web of mythology, which had been woven in the full day of Grecian learning and criticism, must be laboriously unravelled in the comparative darkness of modern times.

It is, however, necessary to guard against an abuse of this process of separation by dissolving parts which were originally connected. For this purpose, before examining a mythological narrative, the inquirer should ask himself three questions—Where was it invented? By what persons? And on what occasion?

As to the first question, it is evident that every fable must have arisen in *some one* place, and that, if this can be ascertained, much assistance will be given towards separating the earlier and later parts of the legend. In most cases, this is not a difficult problem; as we have only to ask, whom the story most concerns? The inhabitants of a country naturally speak of their native heroes; the founders of a town are celebrated as such in the traditions of its citizens; the hills, and streams, and fountains, are changed into mythological personages by those who dwell about them, and have experienced the peculiar feelings which they awaken. The chief exceptions are the fables relating to imaginary nations, such as the Æthiopians and Hyperboreans, (who were not till late times respectively identified with the negroes and inhabitants of the north,) and the extension of an originally Grecian legend to a foreign country, as the expedition of the Argo to Colchis, the residence of the Gorgons in Libya; and sometimes a foreign fable has been received into the Greek mythology, on account of some supposed resemblance or affinity. Thus the

army of Alexander found in India a god worshipped with the same frantic rites as Dionysius or Bacchus in their own country: whence arose the fable of the expedition of Bacchus to the East.

To decide *by whom* a mythological story has been invented, we must keep in mind that it is not always to be referred to the inhabitants of the country known to history. Many parts of a national mythology owe their origin to races subdued or expelled; and have survived, in fragments and ruins, the dominion, or even existence of the tribes which gave them birth. Thus many of the Bœotian legends belong to the ancient Thracians, Cadmeans, and Minyans; of the Athenian to the Pelasgians, and most of the Peloponnesian traditions were earlier than the Doric invasion. (In like manner the fabulous exploits of the British hero Arthur became the favourite theme of the Norman minstrels, whose only right to the fame of this prince was derived from the conquest of the Anglo-Saxons, who had themselves conquered the Britons.*)

Thirdly, in many, though not in all cases, the fable relates to some real fact or event. One legend refers to an ancient rite, another to the festival of some god and the exhibitions accompanying it; a third to some institution or custom of early times. In these cases the object is to account for these facts by stories which are indeed false, but which would explain them *if they were true*.† It is singular that in numerous instances the occasion for such legends was furnished by *false etymologies*. Proper names were explained by an incorrect derivation, and then a story was invented to agree with the false meaning thus obtained. So, for example, the Athenian and Ionian festival of Apaturia doubtless signified an assemblage of the members of the patræ or clans;‡ but the ancients derived the word from ἀπάτη, or deceit, connecting with it the story of a border-war between the Athenians and Bœotians.

From the circumstance of the fables of mythology so frequently referring to real facts, it is necessary to know those which gave occasion to the tradition. Among these there is no class of facts which so often come into question as the rites and observances of the different worships of Greece, the sacred places, priests, festivals, &c. Hence in a system of mythology it is proper to take a general survey of the religion of the Greeks; though only in a subsidiary point of view, as the correctness of the mode of

---

* See Sir J. Mackintosh's History of England, vol. i. p. 26.

† "In commune opinio valebat, *quæ ab hominibus maximeque in re sacra fierent, suas debere causas habere*. Arnob. vii. 25." Lobeck, vol. i. p. 171.

‡ Ἀπατούρια, from α and πατέρες, "the members of a πάτρα." See Müller's Dorians, vol. i. p. 95. Eng. translation. See also Lobeck, vol. i. p. 168.

mythological interpretation above detailed is independent of the correctness of any views on the ancient *religions*, which it assumes as existing, whatever may have been their origin.

The religions of Greece appear to have been originally very numerous, and to have varied greatly in character. The frantic and tumultuous orgies of Bacchus differed as much from the solemnity and gloominess of the worship of Ceres, as both differed from the cheerful, serene, and energetic feelings inspired by the worship of Apollo. These various deities and modes of worship did not arise at successive stages of civilization, as appears to have been the case in the Indian religion; but their variety is to be attributed to the dissimilar characters of the numerous races which peopled the Greek territory. All inquiries go to prove the originally limited sphere of the several religions of Greece. Each god has his favourite abode, his favourite territory, generally likewise the place of his birth; and, however obscure and scanty the vestiges which guide us, the worship of Apollo may be traced to northern Thessaly, the orgies of Bacchus to Bœotian Thrace, and the worship of Neptune to the shores of the Saronic and Corinthian bays, while all the temples of Juno were derived from Argos. Although this original diversity of worship was much softened by the influence of the poets, the peaceful intercourse of different tribes, or their mixture by conquest and by political incorporation, (such as the union of several boroughs into one city or state, the conversion of gentile into national rites, &c.) yet it was never wholly obliterated, and the idea of a national and tutelar deity, having local attachments, and demanding them in return, always remained a predominating article in the religious opinions of the Greeks. In early times the worship of the national deity was common to the whole nation; whence the performance of its rites, as being a national concern, belonged to the princes or kings (βασιλεῖς). The celebration of this public worship was one of the most important offices of these petty rulers, particularly in the less warlike tribes; and it may nearly as well be said that the priests were kings, as that the kings were priests. The royal families frequently retained these sacerdotal functions after their political power had expired. The same inheritance of priestly offices sometimes also took place in other noble families: in the historical age such heritable priesthoods were however less numerous than those which were given by the state to the persons of its choice. There are moreover the strongest reasons for believing that there never was a sacerdotal caste in Greece, or a division of the community into priests and laymen. Had this been the case, the distinction would have been shewn in the performance of some acts by one which were inter-

dicted to the other order. Now the duties of the Greek priests were sometimes to deliver a short, simple form of prayer; to perform sacrifices, in which great stress was laid on the manual dexterity and skill of the sacrificer; and various ceremonies, such, for instance, as the rite of atonement for blood, the consecration of sacred objects, places, &c.; the singing of hymns, and sometimes divination.* All these functions might however be performed by persons who were not priests: thus the Ephetæ, a court of judges at Athens, purified from the guilt of homicide; hymns were generally sung by public choruses; and any one was free to exercise the art of soothsaying. It sometimes happened that certain religious rites were attended with peculiar sanctity, and were looked on with great superstitious awe; but there is no trace of their affording the priests any opportunity or encouragement for gaining important political privileges. No ascetic discipline was perpetuated from father to son, or from generation to generation; no alliance or concert, expressed or understood, existed between the priests of different states.

If the priests of Greece would ever have formed themselves into a powerful body, linked together by their participation in the same rights, their precise division from the rest of the people, and their knowledge of a secret theology, it might have been expected that the hereditary ministers of the sacred *Eleusinian mysteries*, would, above all others, have enjoyed these privileges. Nevertheless, the members of the family of the Eumolpidæ, which had the privilege of shewing to the initiated the sacred symbols (ἱερὰ φαίνειν, δεικνύναι); of the family of Callias and Hipponicus, and afterwards of the Lycomedæ, which had the office of torch-bearer at Eleusis; and of the *Hieroceryces*, or sacred heralds, who performed various duties at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, were by no means exclusively priests, or restricted from following any other employments or professions. The statesman, the ambassador, the orator, the general, or the merchant, would at the appointed time put on his sacred dress, and perform his honourable duties in the temple of Eleusis, and then return to his usual course of life. The privileges which belonged to these

* It was the priests' duty, according to Apuleius, "Callere leges cerimoniarum, fas religionum, jus sacrorum." *Apol.* p. 446. "Deorum cultus (says Lactantius) non habet sapientiam, quia nihil ibi discitur quod proficiat ad mores excolendos vitamque formandam; nec habet inquisitionem aliquam veritatis, sed tantummodo ritum coleudi, qui ministerio corporis constat." *Instit.* iv. 3.—Varro, in his first book on *Divine Antiquities*, made three kinds of theology:—1. The fabulous or mythological, used by the poets: 2. That relating to natural philosophy, used by men of science: 3. The popular theology; which last kind (and not the philosophical theology) "maxime sacerdotes nosse atque administrare debent, in quo est, quos deos colere, quæ sacra et sacrificia facere quenquam par sit." p. 224. ed. Bipont.—The above and other passages of like import are collected in Lobeck, vol. i. p. 11.

families may be compared with the rights, honorary rather than valuable, which are hereditary in some families in England; such as the office of king's champion, falconer, &c.; only the duties entailed on the three noble families of Athens were more frequently exercised, and were (not accessory but) essential to a more solemn and awful ceremony than the English coronation.

It is, however, on the supposed rites of the Eleusinian mysteries that many modern writers have founded their notions of a system of secret and sublime doctrines inculcated by the priests of Greece, handed down from the earliest times, the remnants of a primitive civilization. Admitted into the inmost shrines of the temple at Eleusis, listening to the oracular lessons of Hierophants, and gradually trained for a participation in such holy secrets, the trembling neophyte learned to despise the silly tissue of fables which the vulgar called religion, and imbibed the doctrines of a pure theology, the immortality of the soul, and the prospect of a recompense for virtue in another life. The following summary of the celebrated Creuzer's opinions on this subject is given by M. Silvestre de Sacy:—

"When there had been placed under the eyes of the initiated symbolical representations of the creation of the universe, and the origin of things, the migrations and purifications of the soul, the origin and progress of agriculture and civilization in Greece, there was drawn from these symbols and these scenes in the great mysteries an instruction destined only for the more perfect; and to the epopts were communicated the doctrines of the existence of a single and eternal God, and the destination of the universe, and of man in particular."—tom. i. p. 448.

For the detailed refutation of these and other exaggerated opinions, we are indebted to the admirable work of Lobeck, named at the head of this article, of whose arguments we will now attempt to give our readers a short abridgment.

It appears that instead of a few persons being admitted with care, and after long preparation, to a knowledge of the hidden doctrines of the Eleusinian priests, these mysteries were open to all men and women,* except Greeks defiled by the commission of some atrocious crime, and barbarians. The Eumolpidæ and Ceryces called upon all to approach "whose hands were clean, and who spoke the Greek tongue." The citizens of other states besides Athens were (in later times at least) admitted, and perhaps also the Athenian slaves. It is clear that the Hierophants could not have proceeded to attack the popular religion of their country, and teach a purer doctrine, before this promiscuous crowd of different nations, ages, and sexes. But had they not two sets of

* Lobeck, vol. i. p. 202.

doctrines, one esoteric, one exoteric; the one destined for the vulgar and illiterate, the other reserved for the learned and refined? It has been imagined that some sign or watchword was used by those who entered the temple. This notion is however contradicted by a story in Livy, that "two Acarnanian youths, who had not been initiated, accidentally entered the temple of Ceres during the days of the mysteries. They were soon detected by their absurd questions, and being carried to the managers of the temple, though it was plain that they had come there by mistake, were put to death for so horrible a crime." (xxxi. 14.) The temple at Eleusis was therefore protected rather by the opinion of its sanctity, than by any contrivance of tickets or watchwords. All the introduction requisite was the company of a friend previously initiated; and it seems not to have been an uncommon duty of an Athenian host to take his guest to the Eleusinian festival. There were some stages of initiation, or at least a succession of different ceremonies, which came at certain intervals of time;* no one could be admitted to the great, who had not been initiated at the lesser mysteries:† but there is no proof of a gradation of *doctrines*, religious or moral. When Alcibiades and his associates were indicted for insulting the public religion of Attica, the writing of accusation set forth that "*Alcibiades had committed sacrilege towards Ceres and Proserpine, by imitating the mysteries, and shewing them to his companions in the same dress in which the hierophant shewed the sacred things; and by calling himself the hierophant, Polytion the torch-bearer, and Theodorus the herald.*" (*Plutarch. Alcib.* 22.) And Lysias accuses Andocides of "*putting on the sacred dress, and showing in mimicry the sacred things to the uninitiated, and uttering the secret words.*" (p. 107.) What were the sacred things shown in the original of this mimic representation? Probably the Hierophants displayed some images and statues of the gods, sacred vessels and caskets containing holy symbols‡ and relics, such as are exhibited in Roman Catholic churches. It appears also that a veil or curtain was at some part of the solemnity withdrawn, which discovered statues of the gods set off with lighted torches and much splendour of ornament. The whole ceremony was doubtless contrived so as to produce a grand and imposing spectacle:§ and when the severe and simple beauty of the sacred architecture and sculpture of the Athenians was contrasted with the brilliant decorations of the temple, the procession, and the priests, when the gold and

* τὴν τελετὴν ἅπασαν ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν ἄχρι τῶν ἐποπτικῶν παρελαβεῖν. Plutarch, vit. Demosth. 26.

† Lobeck, p. 140. 188, note.

‡ See Lobeck, vol. i. p. 703.

§ Muller, p. 255.

silver vessels were displayed, when the sacred hymns were chaunted, and the sublime impression was strengthened by a deep superstitious awe, we may imagine that the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries awakened feelings very different from those produced on common occasions. The rites, however, were not performed in silence; the Hierophant (as we learn from Lysias,) "spoke the secret words." These words were doubtless nothing more than short litanies or invocations to the deities of the temple,—short ritual *formulæ;* or at the most, brief narrations of some mythological fables relating to the Eleusinian deities, illustrative of allegorical paintings or sculptures. Sometimes an adventurous priest or hierophant might volunteer a mystical discourse on some simple natural facts, on the benefits or origin of agriculture, and on the plainest moral duties; and it cannot be doubted that the mythological character of Proserpine, as a deity of Hades, the receptacle of departed spirits, gave occasion for allusions to a future life. The choice of these subjects seems to have been in great measure arbitrary, and to have varied in the same place at different times.* But (whatever might be the subject) these effusions were probably mere mystical rhapsodies, devoid of rational information, and by no means contained religious tenets or articles of faith. Of the three parts of which the priest's duty at the mysteries is made by ancient writers to consist, the things which he *shewed*, which he *did*, and which he *spoke*, (τὰ δεικνύμενα, τὰ δρώμενα, τὰ λεγόμενα,) the last was by far the least important, and is sometimes omitted as implied in the others. Thus Aristotle stated that "persons initiated in the mysteries were not to learn any thing, but to experience certain feelings, and be put into a certain frame of mind, having previously been prepared for such sentiments."† Nevertheless, what the initiated did see and hear, they were bound not to reveal; and the Greeks, even of the latest times, always approach a mystical subject with reluctance, and shrink from divulging any explanation or fable related to them at the mysteries.‡ This secrecy was considered by the Greeks as a solemn religious duty; to infringe which was to render a man impious and accursed. A

---

* Lobeck, vol. i. p. 136.

† Ἀριστοτέλης ἀξιοῖ τοὺς τετελεσμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι γενομένους δηλονότι ἐπιτηδείους. Synesius Dion. p. 48. A. This passage seems to us quite decisive. "Quæ Hierophantæ Cerycesque (says Mr. Lobeck,) sacris aut præfabantur aut accinebant, plurimum fortasse ad commovendos audientium animos valebant, ad erudiendos nihil, multoque magis veteres errores confirmabant quam tollebant, quippe cum deorum dearumque invocatione conjuncta." vol. i. p. 147.

‡ Lobeck, vol. i. p. 131. 151, vol. ii. p. 1287., has collected some examples, the number of which might be much increased.

belief not confined to Attica, or even to Greece, but taken up by neighbouring nations.

> " Vetabo (says Horace) qui Cereris sacrum
> Vulgarit arcanæ sub isdem
> Sit trabibus, fragilemque mecum
> Solvat phaselon."

The splendour of the name and arts, the renown of the writers of Athens, the well-known superstitious turn of the Athenians, and the expense and magnificence with which they celebrated all religious solemnities, were the chief causes of the fame of the Eleusinian mysteries, and gave them a sanctity founded rather on fancy and enthusiasm than cool reason. Hence the poets and panegyrical orators speak of these holy rites with raptures which we find it difficult to account for, who contemplate with a cold and critical scrutiny those ceremonies, which to the Athenians were hallowed by the warmth of devotion and the memory of sublime and religious aspirations. " Happy the man (says Pindar) who descends beneath the hollow earth, having beheld those mysteries. He knows the end, he knows the divine origin of life." In a like strain are the verses of Sophocles: " Thrice happy they who descend to the shades below after having beheld these rites;* for they alone have life in Hades, while all others suffer there every kind of evil."—" Those (says Isocrates) who have been initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, entertain better hopes both as to the end of life and the whole of futurity."† That such hopes were raised in the breasts of the initiated by the Eleusinian mysteries, hopes (as Cicero says) not of a better life only, but also of a better death, is easy to believe; only it must be remembered that they were not founded on any solid conviction, but resembled rather the expectations of reward which the Mahomedan founds on his visit to the Prophet's shrine, or the Roman Catholic on his pilgrimage to Rome or Loretto, than the reasonable, fixed, and calm persuasion of a life to come, and a return for good and evil deeds, which the enlightened Christian draws from the book of revelation.

It is impossible for the student of antiquity to impress too strongly on his mind two characteristics of the Greek polytheism; *viz.* the local nature of the different worships, and the absence of all doctrines or articles of faith. To us, a religion without doc-

* It is worthy of remark, that both Pindar and Sophocles speak of *seeing* the mysteries: (ἰδὼν ἰκεῖνα, ταῦτα διερχόμενος τέλη,) as if that which struck the eye was more important than that which struck the ear. In like manner Hercules says, in Euripides, " I rejoiced at *seeing* the orgies of the Mystæ," τὰ μυστῶν ὄργι' εὐτύχησ' ἰδών. Herc. Fur. 613.

† περί τε τῆς βίου τελευτῆς καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰῶνος εὐλογους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσι. Paneg. p. 59. See the other passages in Lobeck, p. 69.

trines seems like a wood without trees, or a town without houses, a plain contradiction in terms. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Greeks never looked to their priests for instruction or exhortation, whether moral or religious. They considered them as the manual operators in a set of outward ceremonies intended to gain the good-will or appease the wrath of some deity, whose protection was supposed to be confined exclusively or chiefly to the inhabitants of a particular family, town, or district. Hence the expression of Livy, which to our ears sounds so strange, that "the Etruscans were the more devoted to religious observances because they excelled in the art of performing them;"* the sacerdotal duties being considered as a sort of sleight-of-hand and curious mystery; like the feats of a juggler, or the occult science of a magician. The chief excellence of a priest consisted in knowing what deities were on such and such an occasion to be appeased; in what manner this was to be done, in what order the rites followed each other; and in performing these operations in an adroit and skilful manner. The priests were as much the performers in the religious ceremonies of the Greeks as the actors are in a play-house: the spectators of a sacrifice, a purification, or a mystery, might gain the favour of a god, be cleansed from the stain of homicide, or be elevated by the communication of holy secrets, as the audience are affected by the mimicry of the actors; but in neither case was the effect produced by the agency of the lookers-on. That the education of the youth should, as in England, Spain, Italy, and other countries, be entrusted to the clergy, or order of priests, would to a Greek have been as incomprehensible as that any one doctrine, such as that of the immortality of the soul, should have been inculcated as an article of faith by all the different priests of all the different religions of his country. Where there was a regular hierarchy, possessed of large political privileges, and trained to their duties by a long and laborious education, as in India, Egypt, Etruria, and Gaul, the inculcation of religious doctrines was possible; and thus the Druids taught the eternity and transmigration of the soul as a fundamental dogma of the Gaulish religion,† which probably was the same in the island of

* "Gens ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod excelleret arte colendi eas." Livy, v. i. An idea of some state of the mind is so inseparably connected with our notion of religion, that it is impossible to render these words faithfully into English.

† The passages of the ancients on this point are collected by Amédée Thierry, *Histoire des Gaulois*, tom. ii. p. 81. According to Strabo, "the Druids teach that the human soul and the world are imperishable; but that fire and water will one day gain the mastery." It does not clearly appear whether he means that the souls of men will as well as the world be destroyed by fire and water; if he does, Dr. Whately is excusable for omitting all notice of these testimonies in his argument to show that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul was unknown to, or at least disbelieved by the ancients. See his *Essays on the Peculiarities of Christianity*, Essay 1.

Mona as in Armorica, and was maintained so by the communication of the priests. But in Greece, Asia Minor, Sicily and Italy, there was (especially in early times) no one universal religion or worship; here the territory was (as it were) parcelled out among numerous deities, each of whom was the tutelar, national, hereditary, or paternal god of some race, state, city, clan, or family. The gods, though generally recognised out of their own domains as having a divine power, and celebrated with almost equal honours by the various poets of Greece and Rome, yet had a peculiar local influence, and a decided predilection for certain places and persons. Thus when Veji was razed and incorporated with Rome, the Romans, wishing to naturalize in their city the Veientine worship of Juno, before they proceeded to move her statue first asked the goddess "whether she was willing to go to Rome."* Hence it was that the worshippers of any particular deity, so far from wishing to force their own religion upon others, or even to make proselytes by gentle means, considered themselves rather as having a preference over their neighbours, which would be lost by such a communication. They enjoyed the favour of some powerful, placable, and beneficent god, who would assist them in the hour of need;† they were the repositories of a most precious secret in knowing the best means, by proper rites and ceremonies, of obtaining his assistance. In this spirit is conceived the advice of Ajax in Homer, that the Greeks should pray apart and in silence,‡ lest the Trojans might overhear them, and, by imitating them, be able to pray with equal effect. Originally the Eleusinian mysteries were closed to all but Athenians;§ the liberality of later times and the eagerness of strangers to gain admission abolished the monopoly of the benefits supposed to flow from these holy initiations.‖ The Greeks were rather happy to be allowed a free trade in religion, and to import sacred rites from foreign countries,¶ than desirous to make converts by the sword or the stake. The worshippers of any particular god conceived themselves in the possession of a valuable religious monopoly and pre-eminence, as knowing a short and easy road to divine protection; and they were no more anxious to make others participate in these advantages than the members of the Bank of England or the East India Company would wish to extend to others the privileges of their respective monopolies. Religious persecution, except for

* *Vane Romam ire Juno.*—Livy, v. 22.

† See particularly Lobeck, vol. ii. p. 1218, on the Samothracian deities, who were celebrated for the prompt assistance which they gave in time of danger to those who ad been initiated in their mysteries.

‡ Iliad, vii. 195. § Lobeck, vol. i. p. 273. Muller, p. 241.

‖ See the inscription in Boeckh's Corp. Inscript. No. 71.

¶ Lobeck, vol. i. p. 271.

religious innovations by individuals, as in the case of Socrates, or for impiety, as in those of Æschylus,* Diagoras, Aristotle, &c. was therefore unknown to the Greeks. The national deities appeared to possess by prescription such pre-eminent privileges, that they were not to be disturbed by the unauthorised introduction of fresh gods, which was rather a national concern;† nor were an insult of the mysteries, a revelation of mystical fables,‡ a deification of men,§ or a total denial of all divine power, tolerated by the Greeks; though blasphemies against the popular deities, whether of bitter invective, as in the Prometheus of Æschylus, or of ludicrous burlesque, as in the Frogs of Aristophanes, did not offend the ears of an Athenian audience.

It would be easy, if our space allowed, to extend our views on the peculiarities of the polytheism of the most civilized nations of antiquity, and to contrast them with the character of the true religion. We will, however, only remark, that no change worked by the spreading of Christianity, not even the substitution of the worship of one for many gods, is so great as the complete abolition, we might say extinction, of the idea of local worships, of privileges, and preferences in religion, and divine predilections for places and nations. For these petty territorial worships Christianity has substituted one religion for all men; has made them *one* fold, under *one* shepherd; and, by removing all temptation for a jealous appropriation of peculiar rites, has no less benefited mankind politically, in destroying local prejudices and forwarding national union, than morally, by teaching the duty of imparting religious instruction to brethren, to foreigners, and even to enemies.‖

It is much to be desired that many writers, who undertake to institute comparisons between the Christian and the ancient religions, would first take the trouble of gaining a more perfect knowledge of both sides of the parallel. Ancient mythology seems to be considered as a licensed field for the wildest conjectures and the most farfetched combinations and etymologies; and there are few books on this subject which can be safely consulted by the general reader. So far as the mystical worships of Greece,

---

* Lobeck, vol. i. p. 76—84. † See Herodotus, vi. 105.

‡ See Lobeck, vol. ii. p. 1285.

§ See Athenæus, XV. p. 696 A. Compare Bentley's *Remarks upon a late Discourse of Freethinking*, S. 47, p. 192, ed. 8.

‖ "Sprung from the same extraction, preparing together for the period of all worldly distinctions, reminded of their mutual infirmities and common dependency, imploring and receiving support and supplies from the same great source of power and bounty, having all one interest to secure, one Lord to serve, one judgment, the supreme object of all their hopes and fears, to look towards; it is hardly possible, in this position, to behold mankind as strangers, competitors, or enemies."—Paley's *Moral Philosophy*, book v. ch. 6. See also Dr. Arnold's notes on Thucydides, book ii. 16. 72, and p. 639; and Dr. Whately's *Sermons on Scripture Revelations concerning a Future State*, 178, ed. 2.

the Eleusinian, Orphic, and Samothracian mysteries, are concerned, the work of Lobeck has exhausted, and to a certain point decided the question. To learning and industry perhaps never surpassed, he joins a cool discriminating judgment, a power of original investigation, a disregard for the authority of great names, and a perfect controul over his imagination, which lead him to doctrines the furthest removed from the fanciful and enthusiastic mysticism of many German, French, and English writers. In short, he is the *rationalist* of the ancient religions; and as such his reasonings are to be watched with care; nor can it be denied that he has sometimes strained them some points beyond their proper limits; but the scrupulous accuracy and the fulness of his citations (for all the chief passages are given at length) enable the reader to judge as he proceeds of the correctness of the argument. Mr. Lobeck is by no means a laudatory or assenting writer; his pen is against every man, and it will be well for him if every man's pen is not against him. At the same time we have not observed any rancour or vituperation in his censures. Sainte Croix and Creuzer fall chiefly under his critical lash, and the opinions of the chief antiquarians of Germany, Boeckh, Müller, Welcker, Boettiger, &c. are frequently attacked. We are sorry, however, that a writer of this country, Mr. Thomas Taylor, shares the worst fate; who is convicted not only of ignorance almost incredible, but is charged with the heavier imputation of literary dishonesty,* which, if not disproved, must in future deprive his assertions of all claim to belief. A blunder, more innocent but more ludicrous than the errors of the modern Platonic Theologian, is pointed out by Lobeck in the writings of another mystic mythologist, Captain Wilford, of Indian celebrity.

"At the conclusion of the mysteries of Eleusis (we learn from this judicious writer) the congregation was dismissed in these words: Κόγξ, Ὄμ, Πάξ. These mysterious words have been considered hitherto as inexplicable; but they are pure Sanscrit, and used to this day by Brahmins at the conclusion of religious rites. They are written in the language of the gods, as the Hindoos call the language of their sacred books, *Candscha, Om, Pacsha. Candscha* signifies the object of our most ardent wishes. *Om* is the famous monosyllable used both at the beginning and conclusion of a prayer or any religious rite, like *Amen. Pacsha* exactly answers to the obsolete Latin word *vix;* it signifies change, course, stead, place, turn of work, duty, fortune, &c."—*Asiatic Researches*, vol. v. p. 300.

This interpretation has been approved by Creuzer and Schelling, by Münter, who is "thrown into amazement by reading that these words are pure Sanscrit," and by Uwarow, who calls it "the

* See Lobeck, vol. i. pp. 93—96. 219—221.

most important of modern discoveries." This great discovery is founded on the following article in the Lexicon of Hesychius. Κόγξ, ὄμπαξ· ἐπιφώνημα τετελεσμένοις. Καὶ τῆς δικαστικῆς ψήφου ἦχος, ὡς ὁ τῆς κλεψύδρας· παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς βλόψ. In the first place it should be observed that, allowing the Sanscrit doctrine to be true, there is no trace of these holy words being used in the *Eleusinian* mysteries. It appears, however, from the explanation of Lobeck, that we should read Κόγξ, οἶον, or ὁμοίως πάξ; and that these portentous words mean no more than that "κόγξ and πάξ were exclamations used when anything was finished (like the Italian *basta;*) also the sound of the ballot-box of the judges, and of the Clepsydra. The Athenians likewise used the sound βλόψ."* Such are the ridiculous mistakes into which half-learned men fall when hurried away by a love of fanciful etymologies and mystical erudition; nor is there much hope that there ever will be a want of such dreaming mythologists, of whom it is true beyond any other class of writers, that "they are the slaves of the folly of the day, and the despisers of all received and sober learning."†

ART. III.—*Clinique Médicale, ou Choix d'Observations recueillies à l'Hôpital de la Charité* (*Clinique de M. Lerminier*). Par G. Andral, Professeur à la Faculté de Médécine de Paris, &c. (Clinical Medicine, or a Selection of Cases from the Clinical Wards of M. Lerminier, at the Hospital of *La Charité*. By G. Andral, Professor in the Faculty of Medicine of Paris.) Deuxième Edition. Paris. 1829. 2 vols. 8vo.

NOTHING has so much exposed the public to the designs of those who profess to cure diseases by methods unknown to the regular faculty, as the extreme ignorance of the public in general concerning the structure and functions of the human frame, and the nature of the diseases to which it is liable. The studies of anatomy and physiology are so extremely interesting, that their addition to what is commonly called a general education would afford a most agreeable occupation for many hours now much less profitably employed, and do more to abolish quacks and quackery than half-a-dozen acts of parliament, or the verdicts of

* See Lobeck, vol. i. p. 775—781. Mr. Lobeck compares the very undignified sounds *evax, tax, pax, κνάξ, πύπαξ, πάπαξ, βομβάξ, παπαιαξ, ἰαττατταιάξ*. The word *pax* is often used by the Roman comic poets in the familiar sense indicated in the text. See Forcellini in *v. pax ad fin.* M. Eusèbe Salverte, in his work on Occult Sciences, reviewed in our last Number, may be added to the number of those who have been deluded by Captain Wilford's supposed discovery, (tom. i. p. 258). This writer has implicitly adopted, and pushed to a ludicrous length, the current erroneous notions respecting the mysteriousness of the Grecian religion and philosophy.

† Δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν ἀεὶ ἀτόπων, ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν ἐλαθότων.—Thucydides.

a hundred juries. It would be seen that the human body is a very intricate and a very delicate machine, and that in order to rectify its movements it is necessary to understand them.

Of all the subjects of quackery, the most profitable are those diseases which are in their nature either extremely lingering or avowedly incurable. Nobody flies to a quack doctor for relief in a violent attack of sore throat, or sends for him when afflicted with inflammation of the bowels. He is never thought of when all the children have the measles, and would be justly looked upon as a dangerous intruder when the father of a numerous family is lying ill of a typhus fever. These are acute disorders, and may not be trifled with. There is no sophistry in them; neglect to repel them and they become dangerous. The mummeries of *Mesmerism*, and the manipulations of the skilful in the employment of the metallic tractors, would be quite out of place; and to rub the patient with a liniment would be deemed nearly of as little use before death as after. But the territory of quackery is chronic disease—disease that calls for patience, which is a rare quality, and for perseverance, with which few patients are endowed. Some chronic diseases are curable; and those who exhibit under the direction of the quack that patience and perseverance in which they were defective under the regular practitioner, furnish to the former his purest triumphs. Other chronic diseases, which are incurable, are yet capable of alleviation, and sometimes of remarkable and protracted mitigation. Here the quack achieves his greatest apparent victories over the regular doctor, for he seems to cure what regular art gives up in despair. Even when the unfortunate patient, transferred in the latter stage of his malady to the irregular practitioner, and living for one week on his promises, dies in the next of his medicine, the quack is not a loser in reputation; all the blame of the murder is thrown upon the more regular physician who had the previous care of the case. Now and then, however, the survivors are not content with the proceedings: the work has been done too hastily even for their credulity; and then, not with very great justice, they try to overwhelm the pretender, in whom they were silly enough to confide, simply on the ground of his own recommendation, with all the vengeance of the law.

Of those diseases in which quackery is productive of the most unfortunate effects, and yet of which the character most exposes the friends of the patient to the delusions of unprincipled interlopers in medicine, is consumption. It is often lingering in its course, and it is almost invariably fatal in its termination. It exhibits fluctuations which encourage hope, and it is sometimes simulated by such general disorder of the health as is curable by

great attention to diet and regimen, the chief remedial agents of those who profess to use secret remedies. It may be that regular members of the faculty sometimes overlook this distinction, and deservedly incur some loss of reputation; but it is no less true, that many consumptive patients, by being consigned to the care of the quack, are subjected to modes of treatment which hasten the termination of the malady, and fill the latter days of their lives with unnecessary discomfort. It may, therefore, not be an unacceptable service to our readers, if we avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by the appearance of the second edition of M. Andral's valuable practical work, to lay before them, in a simple and popular form, such information with respect to this too common disorder, which occupies a considerable portion of the work, as may be readily understood.

The chest, or that part of the body which is enclosed by the ribs, may be said to be entirely occupied by the heart and the lungs. The heart is one of the simplest organs in the body, composed of muscular fibres, and divided into four cavities, namely, a right auricle and ventricle, and a left auricle and ventricle. Red blood is sent from the left side of the heart into the aorta or large pipe leading from it, which soon forms an arch in the chest, and descends to carry blood to the abdomen and lower limbs; other vessels being given off from the arch itself, which supply the upper limbs and the head. Losing its florid colour in its course, the blood is brought back of a dark hue to the right side of the heart, by the veins; and before it again passes to the left side of the heart, it is driven through the lungs, in them to be reconverted, by the action of the inspired air, into its florid or arterial state; after which it is again propelled into the aorta, to travel through the arteries as before. Just before the blood in the veins of the head and neck is transmitted to the heart, it receives, from a peculiar duct, a supply of chyle, which has been brought upwards along that duct from the organs of digestion, in a state to be mixed with the blood; and in the lungs the mixture becomes complete.

The lungs, in which this doubly important office of converting the chyle into blood, and the venous blood into arterial, is performed, cannot consequently but be regarded as organs of extreme importance; and it is found that their well-being is quite essential to health, and even to ordinary comfort. They are of great size, filling up all the chest not occupied by the heart. Their texture is light and spongy, and they are divided into innumerable cells, communicating with the countless ramifications from the two great divisions of the wind-pipe: these two main divisions, uniting at the upper part of the chest, form a cartilagi-

nous tube, passing upwards along the front of the neck, and terminating superiorly in the larynx, of which the cartilages are distinctly felt at the upper part of the throat. At each inspiration, air is received between these cartilages, and through this tube, and passes down the wind-pipe into its two great bifurcations, and from them into every corner of the elastic and expanding lungs. Each little cell, or at least each minute ramification, to its very extremity, becomes dilated with air, and the admitted blood, travelling in small vessels along the walls of these cells, undergoes the changes already mentioned. The air is then expired, altered in its qualities, and the renovated blood passes to its destination in the left cavities of the heart; the next inspiration bringing fresh air into the cells, and more blood into the lungs to receive the benefit of it. This wonderful process, on which life hangs, is performed by day and by night, whether we are sleeping or waking, from birth until the last moment of life.

Now the term pulmonary consumption has been applied to two distinct affections of the lungs. One of these, being nothing more than a chronic inflammation of the lining membrane of the wind-pipe and its many ramifications, is perhaps generally a curable disease. The membrane becomes very irritable, and even thickened or ulcerated, and sometimes the patient sinks under the malady. But this form is so often relieved, as not unfrequently to create an opinion of the probable cure of a true pulmonary consumption much more favourable than medical experience sanctions.

The nature of a true pulmonary consumption is this:—numerous small, hard, greyish bodies are deposited in the soft, elastic, spongy tissue of the lungs themselves. These are, commonly at least, very numerous. They are sometimes in clusters, and sometimes scattered all through the lungs; sometimes confined to one lung, often extended to both. These small bodies are what, in medical language, are called *tubercles*. It is their nature to enlarge, and, beginning to soften in the centre, to break down into a fluid mass. The lung immediately surrounding a tubercle which is undergoing this change becomes inflamed; a communication is established between the softened tubercle and one of the many ramifications of the air-passages, and thus the tubercle is expectorated in the form of a yellow or purulent fluid. When the tubercles are in a cluster, many commonly break down together, and, being expectorated, leave a considerable cavity in the lungs. If the tubercles are not numerous, all of them may be thus got rid of, the cavity may be obliterated, or cicatrised, and a person who has been affected with true pulmonary consumption may in this way actually recover. But this is a rare

occurrence. The tubercles generally exist in great number. When some are softening, others are forming; and when the first are got rid of, the second have yet to be got rid of. This long process irritates the constitution; and the irritation, being protracted, destroys life. The action of the heart becomes quickened, the stomach and intestines become highly disordered, the patient is tormented with hectic fever, and wasted to a skeleton; although often, notwithstanding these obvious sources of suffering and symptoms of decay, cheerful and full of hope to the last.

The progress of the tubercles through their changes of character is not always uniform; peculiarities of constitution and various accidents retard or accelerate those changes, and sometimes the progress is long suspended; all the symptoms of constitutional irritation for a time subside, and the friends of the patient delude themselves with the hope of a perfect recovery. Not unfrequently the symptoms suddenly reappear, and the disease becomes speedily fatal, even before the tubercles have undergone the ultimate changes which have been described.

Human skill, we fear, has yet achieved little, either for the prevention or the cure of this terrible malady, to which, it has been calculated, that no less than sixty thousand persons fall a sacrifice in every year in Great Britain alone. Whilst it is most common in temperate climates, no degree of heat or of cold seems an absolute protection from it. It is no less fatal, and it is hardly less prevalent, in France than in England, and it is very common all along the shores of the Mediterranean. It is found in all parts of our own island, and is almost equally common in all; though perhaps most common in the maritime counties.

The presence of tubercles in the lungs is generally first indicated by some slight oppression of the function of respiration. The chest seems not to be sufficiently expanded in the act of breathing, and the inspirations are short and frequent. Next in order comes a hard and peculiar cough, first heard, perhaps, in the winter or spring; but not disappearing in summer or in autumn. Sometimes there is a slight spitting of blood thus early, although that circumstance, taken by itself, is by no means decisive of the nature of the malady. Conjoined with habitual frequency of pulse, or in a female with a defect or suspension of functions peculiar to the female constitution, it is a symptom well calculated to excite alarm. There is often little or no expectoration; but the cough is distressing when the patient lies down at night, or begins to dress in the morning. The face and figure soon put on the peculiar external characters of consumption. The hair becomes thin, and the circumscribed scarlet hen

of the cheeks is strongly contrasted with the paleness of the face and of the white part of the eyes. The shoulders seem pointed, and the chest narrowed. The hands become pale and slender: emaciation and debility keep pace together.

From the very commencement of the disease the action of the heart and pulse is frequent, above a hundred pulsations being generally counted in a minute. Morning chilliness is succeeded by evening heat and thirst; and to evening hectic, for such the exacerbation soon becomes, succeed wasting night perspirations. The appetite for food is often little affected, although irritability of the stomach and vomiting are common. The bowels are generally irritable as the disease advances, and diarrhæa alternates with the night perspirations. The lining membrane of the air passages becomes irritated, inflamed, ulcerated, or even studded with tubercles. Worn and harassed by these complicated sufferings, the patient still, very commonly, indulges in sanguine hope of recovery: there is, in fact, a mental excitement, which passes on, in the latest stage, to a mild delirium. The consumptive constitution is characterised by great susceptibility to impressions, and the delicate nervous system is readily excited, even before the disorder itself commences. With the commencement of the disorder, or soon afterwards, the signs of an irritable brain are generally very perceptible; the sensations of the patient become unfaithful, and the materials for a correct opinion of their actual condition being thus withheld, the patients entertain confident hope when all around them despair.

The cure of this disorder being so rare, the practitioners of medicine have anxiously sought for the means of prevention, by investigating, with much diligence, those circumstances in the constitution of the patient, and the local disordered actions, which predispose to the deposition of tubercles in the lungs. As is usual in investigations of such a nature, many of the investigators have been content to generalise on the foundation of a very small number of facts, and the causes of consumption assigned by various authorities are contradictory, often frivolous, and sometimes absurd. Foreign pathologists in particular have ascribed phthisis to almost every ordinary article of diet and regimen; to animal food, to vegetables, and even to the use of butter. It would be very unprofitable to repeat all the fanciful opinions which have thus in succession been advanced with the solemnity of discoveries.

The majority of pathologists, we believe, will assent without difficulty to the proposition of M. Andral, that "pulmonary tubercles are the product of a morbid secretion." p. 25. The supposed necessity for a previous state of active sanguineous congestion in the lungs, or in portions of them, which was maintained in

the first edition of the "Clinique Médicale," is, we observe, abandoned, and, we think, justly abandoned, in the second. Such a state may occasionally precede the deposition of tubercles, and hasten their formation: every circumstance favouring such a state in the lungs may favour the formations of tuberculous matter; but the invariable precedence of it has not been proved, and several circumstances throw great doubt upon it. Disordered secretion may often be attended with vascular disturbance, or be induced by it; but secretion is a compound process, the work of the nerves and blood-vessels in associated office; it may be disturbed or depraved by nervous commotion; and even when disturbed or depraved by disorder primarily affecting the blood-vessels, this disorder may not necessarily consist of or produce active sanguineous congestion. It is of more than theoretical consequence to make this admission, for the opinions entertained on this point must inevitably influence the practice of the physician.

What constitution of body most predisposes to the creation of tubercles in the lungs can only be expressed by saying, that it is one of which the predominant feature is debility. This debility is often connected with a scrofulous character, but not invariably or necessarily. The progress of the ravages effected in the frame by the irritation which supervenes on the formation of tubercles seems, however, to be more rapid and more marked when the patient is already affected with any form of scrofula. But consumption may unquestionably appear, and does unquestionably, we believe, appear in a majority of instances, in those who are not of a scrofulous constitution. An altered complexion, an unhealthy state of the skin, a disordered digestion, and many signs of imperfect health, and commonly of defective nutrition, precede the declaration of a decided phthisical affection; or the complaint arises in those who have been from their birth delicate, if not absolutely sickly. Circumstances of a nature to reduce the strength, and perhaps at the same time to affect the nervous system, may bring a healthy individual into that state in which tubercles may become formed in the lungs. Thus nothing is more common than for symptoms of consumption to appear not long after a patient has struggled through a fever; or for the complaint to be induced by a course of reckless dissipation; and we have seen it plainly brought on by deep and long-continued mental affliction. Frequent exposure to wet and cold, with its common consequences, frequent attacks of catarrh, undoubtedly dispose the lungs to disease and to the creation of tubercles; and that poor diet may be a powerful predisposing cause will readily be credited by those who know how invariably some of the inferior animals

may be brought into a state of disease, and that tubercles are formed in their lungs at will, by confining them to particular kinds of food. Habitual confinement in a deteriorated air, in close apartments, in crowded manufactories, or in schools where a number of scholars are kept together for several consecutive hours, seems to be not an uncommon cause of that state of body which favours the development of tubercles. In these cases, the nervous and vascular systems are probably first debilitated, and the process of digestion is commonly also much impaired, before the phthisical disorder appears. To the predisposing causes M. Andral adds, want of sufficient exposure to the influence of the sun. Early life, too, he observes, must be enumerated among the predisposing causes. Some of the diseases of early life—as the measles and hooping-cough—are presumed to dispose to the formation of tubercles, by producing a considerable accumulation of blood in the pulmonary tissue. The same circumstances occurring in females, on the cessation of the periodical functions, renders, it is also supposed, the occurrence of phthisis at that period of life, in female subjects, not a rare occurrence.

It is to be observed, that the age at which symptoms of consumption may appear is not so constant, or even so limited as has frequently been asserted, and as many medical authors still assert. The age of puberty is attended in both sexes with constitutional changes, not effected without a degree of tumult which becomes a source of both sanguineous and nervous disorder to the feeble constitution; and at this period consumption does, without question, very often show itself. More rarely, it is seen at an earlier age. But its supervention at a later period is still more common than at the age of puberty. We are ourselves disposed, after some attention to this particular fact, to believe, that of all ages at which phthisis shows itself, the most common is that between thirty and forty. Instances have not been wanting in which the malady has become fatal at a much later time of life, or in which it has even made its first appearance in advanced age. M. Andral mentions the case of a patient of sixty-eight, who had enjoyed previous good health, and in whom symptoms of phthisis then first showed themselves; the complaint proved fatal after a few months, and numerous tubercles were found in both lungs; which, judging from the patient's health having previously been uninterrupted, would seem to have been recently developed.

The duration of the malady after it has been incontestably declared is also very variable, or rather, to speak more correctly, the malady is capable of suspension for considerable intervals, with occasional returns, which at length prove fatal. In such cases the patient is generally more or less a valetudinarian; can-

not endure much exertion; his respiration is soon oppressed, and his heart is irritable: he suffers much on every attack of common catarrh, and seems at last, from this cause, to fall into consumption. M. Andral says he has known individuals remain in this intermediate state, between illness and health, from early life to thirty or forty years of age.

Far more commonly, consumption destroys the patient in a much shorter time. The average duration of life, after the disorder is actually established, cannot be stated as greater than two years. Many patients are worn out by the disease much within that period; some sink in less than a year, and some are hurried to the grave in a few months, or, though more rarely, even in a few weeks. The latter description of cases are so striking, even to common observers, as to be designated, in popular language, *galloping consumptions*. Of these M. Andral gives some examples. In one, death took place four weeks after the first appearance of cough; in another, five weeks after the first symptom of ill health; in a third, the symptoms of phthisis had been observed in a slight degree for many years, without affecting the patient's health or strength; and then the softening and expectoration of tuberculous matter, occurring apparently for the first time, were followed by death in the short space of eleven days. It cannot be a matter of surprise that the patients are in these cases generally unconscious of their danger, and unprepared for death. We have known them chiefly complaining of symptoms which had little connection with the pulmonary disorder, and loath to acknowledge any cough or other affection of the respiratory organs, only a few days before they died of pulmonary consumption in the last degree.

Such being the hopeless character of consumption when once established, the fact of its establishment becomes of the greatest importance, and the means of determining either its absence or its presence cannot be too carefully studied. By these means, supposing them to exist, a protection may be given against the deceptions of the quack, who pretends to cure what does not exist; and in other cases, where the disorder is but too well established, a protection of another kind may be afforded to the unfortunate patients themselves, who may be spared the infliction of remedies which are powerless to heal, and may yet obtain much relief by palliative measures, adopted in consequence of sound views being entertained of the actual state of the lungs.

Two methods of investigating all diseases of the lungs and of the heart have, for some years past, occupied the attention of medical practitioners, in addition to an observation of what are commonly called symptoms. These are, percussion of the chest, and

auscultation. The first is a revived invention, the second a very recent discovery; or, at least, recent and novel in the extent and accuracy of its application. As these are methods by which the presence of tubercles in the lungs may sometimes be positively ascertained, and as the principle of their employment is very simple, it may be worth while shortly to explain both of them to readers to whom it is probable that the terms percussion and auscultation may convey no very clear signification.

The light texture of the lungs, the manner in which their innumerable cells are filled with air, and the extent to which they fill the chest, have already been described. What is called the chest, therefore, may in some sort be compared to a box or barrel filled with air; and when the chest is struck with the fingers it returns, in most parts of it, exactly the sound we should expect to be given. Percussion of the chest is but the eliciting of this sound, by the steady and consecutive striking of the ends of two or three of the fingers on all parts of the chest. It requires to be done with some care; the points of the fingers should be held evenly, and the chest be struck smartly; the examination of each part of one side of the chest should be compared with that of the corresponding part of the other side of the chest; and the same parts on both sides should be struck as nearly as possible at the same angles. When the front part of the chest is subjected to this kind of examination, it is most convenient that the person examined should cross his arms behind him; and when the back of the chest is examined, the arms may be folded before the patient. Thus examined, the whole of the chest returns a hollow sound, except on the lower part of the left side, where the heart intervenes between the lung and the hand; and on the lower part of the right side, where the liver is situated, and seems to encroach on what is commonly called the chest. Where there is the least soft and unsonorous substance interposed between the lungs and the hand, the sound is clearest; as at the sides and along parts of the front of the chest: where there is the most soft matter, muscle, fat, or other substance, there the sound is duller; as at the top of the chest behind, above the shoulder blades, and in fat persons and females on the front of the chest. But the sound of the corresponding parts of each side of the chest will still, in health, be equal, and the natural differences of sound are consequently soon appreciated.

The application of these simple facts to the investigation of diseases of the lungs is very direct. Whatever becomes interposed —*within* the chest as well as without—between the hand and the air-expanded lung, lessens or modifies the sound returned when the chest is struck with the fingers in that part in which the interposed matter exists. The interposed matter may be a fluid, and

then the sound on the side of the chest where the fluid is, or to a certain height from the lower part of the chest, will be dull; whilst on the other side of the chest, or above the level of the fluid, it will be clear and natural. The difference in these cases may be appreciated by any ear. The same effect, or dulness of sound, may be produced by any part of the soft lung having become less pervious to air. This is the case in inflammation of the lungs: the substance of the lung, when the inflammation is severe, destroys for a time the elasticity of the lung, and its capacity of receiving air in the portion inflamed; and here also the dull sound will be returned when the chest is struck over the inflamed part, unless in the single case of the inflamed portion of lungs being in the centre, and healthy lung being interposed between it and the hand.

The description of tubercles which has already been given, will make it readily intelligible to all, that if they are numerous, or if many of them are collected together, they must constitute a mass of such a degree of density as to produce modifications of sound when percussion is employed. If they are not numerous, and not grouped together, little or no modification of sound can be expected; and the same want of distinct modification exists even when they are numerous, if they happen to be scattered over all parts of the lungs. When, however, in a patient who has some of the symptoms of consumption, a dull sound is returned on one side of the chest, particularly at the upper part, and the corresponding part of the other side of the chest returns the usual sound, there is the strongest reason to believe that many tubercles are collected in the part of the lung where the dull sound is given, and the opinion given in such a case is generally very unfavourable. We have several times found this sign distinct at an early stage of the ordinary symptoms, and have seldom been deceived by it.

The principle of what is called auscultation is no less simple than that of percussion. The manner in which blood and air are received into the lungs, and transmitted from them, has been already explained. When the ear is applied to the chest, these actions are found to be productive of a low but distinct sound, or murmur, which murmur is heard all over the chest, with the exceptions just alluded to when speaking of percussion. Whatever diminishes the elasticity and light texture of the lungs—whatever intervenes between the lungs and the ear,—and whatever obstructs, in any degree, the passages through which the air passes into the pulmonary substance, diminishes or modifies the respiratory murmur, and thus becomes an indication of disease, and of the nature of the disease. *Mediate* auscultation signifies the employment of a perforated cylinder of wood, called the

stethoscope, one end of which, scooped out like a funnel, is placed steadily and evenly on the chest, whilst the ear is accurately applied to the other.

It will be seen at once, that the use of the stethoscope, or of auscultation, must be limited in the case of consumption by the same circumstances which circumscribe the utility of percussion in the same disorder. If the tubercles are numerous, if clustered together, if near the surface of the lungs, they will render the respiratory murmur less distinct. If few in number, if small, if scattered over the lungs, they so slightly modify the respiratory sounds that, even if we admit that the practised ear can appreciate the modification, such modification cannot be understood as being available to the general course of practice; and we may almost say, therefore, that in such circumstances the stethoscope is of no use in phthisical cases. The strong and decisive evidence, however, which is afforded by its employment in those cases in which percussion has indicated a dull sound on one side or in one part of the chest, and the certainty acquired in such cases by the employment of both methods in conjunction, are sufficient to show that even in consumption the stethoscope is an instrument not to be neglected. Its use, too, is by no means thus limited in this disorder, in the progress of which it affords other and perhaps infallible diagnostics. In a number of cases, observes M. Andral, auscultation renders the recognition of phthisis more precise and more exact; and it marks, much better than any other method of investigation, the extent, the seat, and the degree of the alteration which the lungs have undergone. By its means, the existence of cavities in the lungs, the product of softened tubercles, has been ascertained in cases in which the patients were previously supposed to be suffering from a simple bronchial affection, or perhaps only suspected of being in the very first stage of consumption.—(p. 68.)

One of the most striking of the phenomena which may be discovered by the use of the stethoscope in consumption is what is called pectoriloquism, or the sensation, if the patient speaks during the time when the stethoscope is applied to the chest and the ear to the stethoscope, of the voice of the patient passing *directly through the instrument*. This sign is found when a cavity is already produced in the lungs by the softening of numerous tubercles; and it is of course not often heard in cases affording the least hope of recovery. The exceptions with which the indications of the stethoscope and of percussion are to be received in consumption, are very clearly and ably stated by M. Andral; and even the sign last-mentioned, so important when it is heard, is sometimes, it seems, not heard, even when a cavity

really exists. The reader, who is desirous of being master of all that relates to this sign, should carefully peruse the explanations, cautions, and valuable directions of the great inventor of the stethoscope, M. Laennec, contained in the chapter on Phthisis Pulmonalis, in his masterly Treatise on diseases of the Chest and on Mediate Auscultation, and also in the notes of his distinguished translator, Dr. Forbes.

Such are some of the principal facts relating to the nature and progress of this malady, and to the means of detecting its existence. Its treatment does not obtain much consideration in the work before us, of which the chief objects are to illustrate the symptoms and the morbid anatomy of diseases. But we cannot thus dismiss the subject at a time when the public attention has been challenged with more than common effrontery, and in the face of facts of an appalling kind, to the efficacy of a mode of cure professed by a man apparently unacquainted with the rudiments of medical science. The declared destruction of a few patients, and the suspected murder of many more, are probably less calculated to shake a confidence which rests on no reasonable ground, than a mere consideration of the prospect of cure afforded by the actual nature of the malady itself.

If we suppose the disease to be established, or tubercles to be actually formed in the lungs, there would seem to be two especial indications of treatment; namely, to prevent the progress of these foreign bodies, and to check the symptoms of irritation produced by them, not only in the lungs but in other organs. The presence of the tubercles is often declared more strongly by the supervention of these secondary irritations than by any primary embarrassment in the functions of the lungs themselves. It is, consequently, against these secondary states that the efforts of the practitioner are very frequently directed; and some of them—inflammation of portions of the pulmonary tissue for example—demand the promptest attention, inasmuch as they tend to hasten the progress of the tubercles, before existing in a passive condition, into that stage in which they work the most serious effects on the general constitution. The means of preventing at once the inconveniencies of the different supervening irritations, and the acceleration of the process of tubercular change, are, generally, all such as are calculated to prevent excitement of the vascular system. The presence of actual inflammation may make it necessary to prescribe moderate bleeding, and this may become again occasionally necessary, although the wasting character of consumption is sufficiently declarative of the impropriety of the repeated, and as it were periodical, bleedings, to which practitioners have sometimes resorted. Blistering the chest, as near as possible to the

inflamed part of the lung, the exact situation of which may be ascertained by the stethoscope, is a powerful auxiliary to the venesection; and, in many cases, if resorted to after the application of leeches, may render it unnecessary to incur the inconvenience of a general bleeding. Irritations of the larynx and trachea (windpipe), and also of the bronchial ramifications, may generally be alleviated by these means, and by other methods of producing external irritation; as well as that distressing disturbance of the stomach which is exceedingly troublesome to the greater number of phthisical patients. With the same intentions, various soothing medicines, chiefly mucilaginous and anodyne, are found to be serviceable; and the adoption of a system of diet which is moderately nutritious, but from which every thing that could cause excitement is carefully excluded. Every part of the regimen of the patient should be so ordered as to conform to this system; violent bodily and mental exertions, late hours, exposure to vicissitudes of weather, insufficient clothing and every kind of irregularity are to be diligently avoided.

By the early and rigid adoption of measures of this kind, many individuals in whose lungs tubercles actually exist, are enabled to maintain a condition of health very little interrupted, and the duration of life may, in some cases, be greatly prolonged. Both of the indications already mentioned are indeed thus simultaneously accomplished.

In variable climates like our own there is always an additional difficulty to be contended against, arising out of the perpetual irritation of the air-passages, by the actual contact and unavoidable reception of the air itself. If, desirous altogether to avoid this inconvenience, the patient is restricted to the air of rooms of which the temperature is carefully regulated, the want of invigorating freshness is too often productive of general effects which induce some other disadvantages, both as regards the general health and the pulmonary disease; and if attempts are made to secure the benefit of that freshness which the external air alone can impart, hardly any care or watching can long prevent some accidental exposure which brings on an aggravation of symptoms which it is most desirable to repel. The hope of securing the advantage, without incurring the counterbalancing disadvantages, produces the numerous annual migrations of the consumptive to various parts of foreign countries and of our own; and these again impart a high degree of interest to the character of particular countries of the continent, or of particular islands to which so many sail in quest of health, or of particular parts of our own island, to which those who are unwilling or unable to leave their native country commonly resort. The desired climate for a consumptive patient

is one which is dry, warm or temperate, and subject to few vicissitudes. There is, unfortunately, much difficulty is finding such a climate in our own country. We may obtain warmth in Devonshire, and generally along the southern coast of England; but not warmth with dryness, or warmth free from vicissitudes. Dryness is to be found on the heights of Clifton or Malvern, but dryness without sufficient warmth, or sufficient protection from severe winds. The sheltered vallies in the neighbourhood of Clifton, or the coast of Devonshire, or the southern parts of the Isle of Wight, seem to afford the best winter residence. During that season the temperature of Devonshire is 5° above that of London. Hastings, and the beautiful part of the Isle of Wight called Undercliff, are perhaps the most sheltered from the piercing winds of spring. In the heat of summer, the heights of Clifton or of Malvern offer some advantages; and during the autumnal heats, probably no situation is better than Brighton.

That which gives to any one place or district a decided superiority over another, is the equal distribution of heat throughout its year. A climate, like that of Paris, where the heat of summer is very great, and the coldness of the winter excessive, is worse for the consumptive patient than any part of our own island. Yet patients are sometimes contented to "go abroad for their health," leaving their residence to be determined by accident; and seeming to imagine that some peculiar virtue is attached to every acre of a foreign soil. But the same country, or certainly a country so extensive as France, may contain climates of the most opposite character. That of the south-east of France, for instance, differs exceedingly from that of the south-west of that country, which, like the south-west parts of England, is warm and relaxing, but subject to violent winds; whilst that of the south-east, although 3° above the south-west in mere temperature, is subject to sharper winds, which try the consumptive invalid much more severely. No where in Europe is there perfect shelter from the winds of the spring. Even at Nice, where the winter is so mild, the months of March and April are particularly unsuitable to pulmonary invalids; and the same may be said of Montpellier and Marseilles. There are spots in Italy which are less exposed to these disadvantages. Yet even in Rome, distinguished for its soft and delightful air, and for its general dryness, it is very common in spring to have cold winds prevailing until sunset; and the malária renders it an undesirable residence in the summer. The winter of Naples is well adapted to an invalid; but at Naples also they complain of the coldness of the spring. Summer, too, brings its disadvantages in a warm climate; although there are situations in the neighbourhood of that city which are considered agreeable even in that season; but excepting such situations, and the baths

of Lucca, the warmth of an Italian summer is much too great for invalids to bear with impunity. For this reason the suffering patient is often compelled to undertake a fatiguing journey, either to England or into Switzerland, or to what seems better than either, for a summer residence, to Ems on the Rhine. By a sufficiently prolonged residence at any one of the places which we have mentioned, particularly if care is taken to guard the invalid from the particular vicissitudes which are found most to distress him, we feel confident that the progress of consumption may be delayed, and all the inevitable irritations attending its progress much alleviated.

More sanguine hopes arise at the mention of the island of Madeira; which boasts of a climate far superior to that of France, or of any part of Italy; and one which combines the requisites both for a summer and a winter place of residence. Almost wholly exempt from the keen winds which prevail so generally over the European continent, and enjoying a high winter temperature, the equability of its climate is quite remarkable; and the summer is not so hot as to drive away those who seek its shelter from the severe winter of their own land. Thus it is stated by Dr. Clark, in his very valuable work on the Influence of Climate in the Cure of Diseases, that whilst the Madeira winter is 20° warmer than that of London, the summer-heat of Madeira only exceeds that of London by 7°; and whilst the winter at Madeira is 12° warmer than the winter in Italy, the Madeira summer is 5° *cooler* than the Italian summer. Nor are the variations of temperature from day to day sudden or considerable; and the rain which falls is commonly confined to the autumnal season. So that, altogether, there does not seem to be on the face of the globe a place more likely to preserve the life of those threatened or affected with consumption than Madeira. Still, it is to be remembered, that such is the state of the lungs in confirmed consumption, that much relief, or much prolongation of life, are not to be expected in any climate whatever; and that the cases benefited even by the salubrious air of Madeira are incipient cases. Of these, a large majority undergo such improvement as to maintain a very high character for the island as a place of refuge for consumptive invalids.

On the whole, a consideration of the nature of tubercles, and of the inevitable changes which they undergo, and the testimony of all experience, do but too strongly confirm the opinion, that human resources against the fatal progress of consumption are few and limited in power; that the retardation of the malady, and some mitigation of its attendant inconveniences, are nearly all that can be hoped for; and that perfect recovery, where the tuber-

cles are numerous and far advanced, is not, under any circumstances, to be expected. In the retardation of the malady, however, and, we would add, in its prevention in persons predisposed to it by birth or natural constitution, so much may yet be done by careful diet and regimen, by attention to clothing, and exercise more especially, as well to reward the pains required to order these particulars properly and effectually.

That tubercles already deposited in the lungs may be removed by absorption, or that the constitution can be supported through the processes by which even a large collection of them might possibly be eliminated from the lungs, are things which yet exist only in the dreams of the sanguine, or in the bold promises of those whom ignorance endows with confidence. That the public should readily believe in the curative power of inhalation, or in the efficacy of barbarous methods of destroying large portions of the integuments of the body by corrosive substances, unknown in medicine, and presumptuously borrowed from the coarser arts, can only, we fear, be regarded as a proof of the limited diffusion, even in these times, of really useful knowledge.

ART. IV.—1. *Hinterlassene Schriften* von Carl Maria von Weber, *herausgegeben* von Theodore Hell. (Posthumous works of Carl Maria von Weber, published by Theodore Hell.) Dresden, und Leipzig, 1828. 3 vols. 18mo.

2. *Lebensbeschreibung* von Carl Maria von Weber. (Life of ditto.) Gotha. 1829. 4to.

MR. THEODORE HELL, "a name *unmusical* to Volscian ears," announces himself as the executor of Weber and guardian of his sons; and in this capacity of executor he has laid before the public the posthumous works of his deceased friend, accompanied with various dissertations of his own, critical and biographical. We are sorry we cannot congratulate him either on the care or judgment with which he has performed his task; his materials follow each other in most admired disorder;—now a portion of a romance by Weber himself; now, a thin layer of biography from Mr. Hell: then a set of musical critiques and occasional notices of matters musical by Weber; then, another portion of his biography by the executor "in linked sweetness long drawn out:"—then Weber and his criticisms again. But want of order is not all we have to complain of. Musicians, who cannot afford time, like Gretry, to exhibit a portrait of their own mind, should at least confide their musical MS. to a musical executor. Their life is not safe in any other hands. What the public expect from the biographer of Weber is a sketch at least of the peculiar

features of his mind as an artist, of the gradual culture by which it was formed, the circumstances which furthered and the obstacles that repressed its progress;—his habits of study and composition, and some attempt to trace those influences which, operating upon his peculiar temperament, gave rise to that wild spirit of romance which breathes through his compositions. What Mr. Hell on the contrary gives us, is a long prosing discussion on his literary abilities as a poet and a novelist, in which field the executor seems to look upon him as another Salvator; vague and general tirades about his wit, humour and conversational powers, and the cordial fellowship in which he lived with Kind the editor, and some other of the better spirits of Dresden; while with regard to the immortal part of him, his habits and efforts as a musician—every thing which gives importance or value to the other trifles, his book preserves a decorous silence; Hamlet, in short, is entirely omitted in his own play.

Probably the same reasons which led the country manager to the suppression of the part of the Prince of Denmark have weighed with Mr. Hell. He feels he has no one to take the part. In stage language, Mr. Hell cannot *double* the musical critic with the literary; and so consoling himself with the reflection that Weber's fame as a musician will probably stand high enough without his aid, he devotes himself, with much executorial piety, to the task of elevating his *nugæ literariæ* to a corresponding altitude.

We fear, therefore, that any information we may have it in our power to communicate through the medium of this work, must be meagre and scanty; but with the aid of one or two other sources we shall endeavour to lay before our readers some authentic particulars relative to this great, we may truly add this good, man. Some features of his mind, we think, will be clear enough from this sketch, others will be indicated more or less plainly; where we can avail ourselves of his own correspondence or remarks we shall allow him to speak for himself; where we are destitute of information, we shall leave the blank to be filled up by some future biographer.

Weber was born at Eutin, in Holstein, on the 18th Dec. 1786. Like almost every other great composer, his father was a musician. He was an accomplished violinist, and at an early period anxiously devoted himself to the education of his son. The retired habits of his family, his early intercourse with persons older than himself, and his seclusion from the society of rude and boisterous playmates, soon excited in his mind a disposition to thought, and taught him to live in a world of his own imagination. "I heated my fancy," says Weber in a letter to a friend, written

long afterwards, " with the reading of romances, and pictured to myself models of ideal excellence." These sedentary pursuits and early wanderings of imagination, while they matured his intellectual faculties, not improbably laid the foundation of that physical weakness which too soon terminated in disease. His occupations were incessant. Music at first only shared his attention with painting and drawing. He wrought in crayons, in oil, in water-colours; he etched very tolerably; every thing, in short, indicated that restless activity of mind, which, whether it be spread over the whole field of art, or poured into a single channel, seems to be the inseparable concomitant of genius. Gradually the master-feeling of his soul assumed the preponderance, and banished its rivals from the scene; painting and etching dropt silently into abeyance, and music engrossed the whole energies of his youthful mind.

His studies in this art were not a little retarded by his father's frequent change of residence, and the consequent alteration which took place in the systems and modes of tuition to which he was subjected. On the other hand, these changes, by leading him to reflect, and compare, and analyse, probably developed and assisted the constitution of an enlarged musical taste. To Hauschkel of Hildburghausen, in particular, Weber, in a little fragment of autobiography which he began at Dresden, expresses his high obligations for the acquisition of whatever skill he professed as a pianoforte player; particularly in rendering him equally adroit in the use of both hands. His father, who witnessed his progress with pleasure, took him when about eleven years old to Saltzburg, and placed him under the care of Michael Haydn. " But there was too awful a distance," says Weber, " between the old man and the child. I learnt little with him and with great difficulty." To encourage him, however, his father printed, in 1798, six fugues which he had composed, and in the end of that year took him to Munich, where he received instructions in singing from Valesi, and in harmony from the court-organist Kalcher, to whose clear, progressive and unwearied instructions, particularly in regard to the grand elements of composition, the treatment of subjects in four parts, he expresses himself as greatly indebted. Weber's inclination towards dramatic music soon began to display itself. Under the eye of his master he now wrote an opera entitled " The Power of Love and Wine," besides a mass, numerous sonatas for the piano-forte, violin trios, &c., all of which, however, he afterwards committed to the flames. Even the field of music, it seemed, was not wide enough for him. Senefelder's discovery of lithographic printing all at once inspired him with the resolution of turning lithographer. He thought he had dis-

covered an improved process in lithography, and forthwith set about reducing his invention to practice, by removing to Freyberg and actually commencing the practice of the art. But the mechanical, "spirit-killing" drudgery, as he calls it, of this employment soon became repulsive, and throwing away his alkalies and his dabbers, he returned with a warmer and now unalterable attachment to his former studies.

In 1800, he composed the music of the Chevalier Steinberg's opera, "The Maid of the Woods," (Das Waldmädchen,) which though he himself characterizes it "as a very immature production, only not entirely destitute of occasional invention," appears to have been received with approbation even in Berlin and Petersburgh, no trifling distinction for the work of a boy of fourteen. An article in the Musical Gazette about this time, (1801,) suggested to him the idea of composing a piece in a different style, in which old and forgotten instruments should be introduced. To this archæological opera he gave the name of "Peter Schmoll and his Neighbours," (Peter Schmoll und seine Nachbärn.) It was played in Augsburg, as he himself drily and significantly observes, "without any remarkable consequences;" the most agreeable circumstance attending this antiquarian capriccio being, that it procured him the following kind notice from his old master, Michael Haydn:—"As far as I may pretend to judge, (says he,) I most truly and candidly say, that this opera not only possesses great power and effect, but is composed according to the strict rules of counterpoint. To spirit and liveliness, the composer has added a high degree of delicacy, and the music is moreover perfectly suited to the words." Another of his masters, in alluding to the same opera, with respect to its author, made use of the remarkable and prophetic expression "erit mature ut Mozart;" and even Weber himself seems to have thought some portions of it deserving of preservation, for he afterwards retouched the overture, and had it printed by Gambard.

In 1802 he accompanied his father on a musical tour through Leipzig, Hamburg and Holstein, in the course of which he collected and studied various theoretical works on music, with the greatest assiduity, but, as would appear from his own confession, with no other result than that of filling his mind with conflicting and undigested theories. While in this bewildered state, he seems to have been grievously annoyed by an unlucky physician, who with the perplexing question "Why?" used to assail and generally overturn the principles, such as they were, which he had gathered in the course of his reading. "A confounded Doctor of Medicine," says he, "to whom I was giving instructions in thorough bass, pestered me so with his queries, had so little

respect for the authority of names, and was so determined to get to the bottom of every thing, that with all my omniscience, I felt myself now and then fairly nonplused. I resolved at last to treat music as other studies are treated, to be able to assign a reason for every progressive step." By these means, proceeding in his investigations with the most undaunted perseverance, and, as nearly as possible, upon the same method to which modern research has been indebted for its success in the physical sciences, after a time Weber not only emerged from the limbo of doubt, into which the faulty and hypothetical systems of his predecessors had cast him, but brought with him a more philosophical system of his own, based upon experience and the observation of nature. Having thoroughly grounded himself in the principles of his art, he now sought a proper field for its display.

Vienna is, in Germany, the Holy Land to which all musical devotees make their pilgrimage, and Weber also turned his face to the east. His reception was kind and cordial. Musicians, in general, are not conspicuous for the harmony of their intercourse with each other; but Weber was received with generous sympathy by those in whose minds his rising genius and boundless application might have excited envy. The Abbé Vogler, the most distinguished of his new acquaintances, advised him at once to lay aside all premature attempts to acquire distinction, and to devote himself silently and steadily for two years more to the critical study of the works of the great masters, a course which he rigidly followed out under the Abbé's personal superintendence, though he admits that the effort which it cost him, was at first, a painful one.

Anxious to perfect his education by a more complete acquaintance with dramatic and musical effect, he about this time accepted of the situation of music director in Breslau. Here he formed a new orchestra and chorus, remodelled several of his earlier works, and composed the greater part of Rode's opera of *Rubezahl*. His numerous duties left him little time for original composition, but the contrasted nature of those works which, in his official situation, he had to bring out and superintend, served to exercise his mind, as he says, in discriminating musical effects, and in exhibiting the practical application of those views which his theories had suggested, while it prevented him from falling into the beaten track of any one composer.

For a short time, in 1806, he took the direction of the theatre at Carlsruhe, at the request of Prince Eugene of Wirtemberg, but his employment, and the neat little theatre itself, were soon put an end to by the ravages of war. Music he found for a time to be an unprofitable servant: a *march* was the only movement

which was popular, and the only instruments which were heard were the drum and the trumpet. During these evil times Weber found an asylum in the house of the Duke Louis of Wirtemberg, at Stuttgard, where he rewrote his opera of the *Wood Girl*, and composed various smaller pieces, including *Der erste Ton* (The First Sound), till the political atmosphere began to clear in 1810, and restored him again to his profession. "From this time," says he, (writing afterwards in 1817,) "I may consider my opinions as pretty much made up on the subject of music, and all that time has since done, or can do, is merely the rounding-off of sharp angles, and the imparting additional clearness and comprehensibility to principles which were already firmly established in my mind." He now travelled through Germany in various directions, and his operas were played with success in Frankfort, Munich, Berlin, and Vienna. In conjunction with Meyerbeer and Gänsbacher, he enjoyed (and with more beneficial results than before) all the advantages which the fine taste, profound knowledge, and great experience of Vogler could impart. The Abbé was on the verge of the tomb, and Weber seems to have received his last instructions as a sacred legacy. "Once more only," says he, "I saw him in Vienna, fully sympathising with my success. Peace be to his ashes!" The opera of Abon Hassan was the composition of this period.

In January, 1813, he undertook (with some reluctance, for he foresaw the Augean nature of the task which awaited him,) the direction of the opera at Prague. Every thing had to be reorganized, and his efforts at reform were retarded by intrigues and obstacles of every kind. He wrote to Liebich, the stage-manager at Prague, on the subject of these annoyances, with feeling, but with that calm and dignified sense of his own uprightness and superiority which was blended in his mind with a singular modesty. He mentions that he had at last come to the resolution of giving up his obnoxious situation at Prague. "Think not, however," he observes in conclusion, "that this resolution is founded on any feelings of irritation or pride, but in the firm conviction that I can no longer remain here for good. While I continue to hold the helm, my management will always afford me the same pleasure and be distinguished by the same exertions." Accordingly with unpretending patience, he laboured for months before laying down the direction to complete and simplify all the arrangements of the opera for his successor, to fill up catalogues, inventories, and so forth, so as to reduce the operatic chaos into order and regularity. Having done so as well as he could, almost at the sacrifice of any attempt at composition of his own, (for his residence at Prague is hardly distinguished by any work of conse-

quence, save his cantata of "Kampf und Sieg," and his music to Körner's "Leyer und Schwert,") he resigned his office.

"I now," says he, (March 26, 1818,) "set out on my pilgrimage through the world, calmly waiting for that sphere of operation which fate might assign to me. Numerous and tempting offers reached me from all sides; but an invitation to assist in the formation of a German opera in Dresden was the only one sufficiently attractive to decide me. And here I am labouring with might and main at the duties assigned to me; and when they shall lay a stone upon my grave, I trust they will be able to write on it—HERE LIES ONE WHO MEANT HONESTLY TOWARDS MUSIC, AND TOWARDS MEN."

Well might Weber describe himself as working with might and main during his residence at Dresden. He had come thither in January, 1817, and though his residence was on the whole a happy one, it was the contentment derived from successful, but unceasing and laborious exertion—varied only by the occasional society of a few congenial minds, and the constant and well-merited tribute of "respect from the respected." Even if Weber could have eaten the bread of idleness, it was not in his nature to sit down in indolence. The same activity of mind, which in early youth engaged him in painting, etching, and even the more mechanical labour of lithography, made him devote the *horæ intercesivæ* which he could spare from his professional avocations (and these intervals were not many) to the cultivation of poetry and general literature. He published from time to time short criticisms on professional subjects, new operas, concerts, or elementary works on music generally, anonymously or under the signature of Melos, Simon Knaster, or some such pseudonym, most of them distinguished by acuteness and depth, often by force and happiness of expression, and uniformly by a noble candour and sensibility to the merit of others. Many little poems and copies of verses, epigrams, and translations from the Italian, also dropped from his pen at these times, though in general they were communicated only to some of his friends, or left to repose in his desk. They indicate, as might be anticipated, a fine ear for versification, and a considerable turn for humour. This quality appears a little overstrained in the longest of his productions, which he did not live to complete, entitled "Tonkünstlers Leben, ("the Life of a Musical Artist,") a humorous arabesque, in which scenes from Weber's own musical life, or that of others, criticisms upon existing notions in the art, or in dramatic literature, are worked up into a Shandean kind of romance, of which some specimens appeared in various German periodicals, and are reprinted in the present work. His humour, there is reason to believe, appeared to more advantage in his conversation in

society, where his good-natured playful satire and variety of conception are spoken of by his friends in high terms. Often in those quiet evening circles where Weber used to unbend after the fatigues of a laborious day, and where each of the company was called on alternately to contribute some poem or tale, or perhaps to take up and carry on a story begun by another, his readiness of invention and command of language rendered him a delightful visitor.

These *symposia*, however, exhibit the bright side of the composer's life; "the weariness, the fever, and the fret," of incessant occupation and wavering health, to which he was exposed during this his residence at Dresden, as he describes it himself in a letter written in 1818, must be taken into view, to complete the picture. Weber had been rash enough, in an unguarded moment, to promise to review some musical production of a brother artist, and had been prevented by his multifarious avocations from fulfilling his promise. He had in the meantime received a most impertinent and vexatious letter from the brother of the musician, to which he thus replied:

"I was indebted, when I left Prague, to my publisher, in a variety of works already begun and paid for. I went to Berlin. I gave no concerts that I might lose no time. I worked day and night, and had almost completed my task, when I was invited to Dresden to assist in the formation of a German opera there. I came and found prejudices to contend with, obstacles of every kind to overcome, engagements to form, correspondence to carry on with all quarters of Germany, a corps to organise from the foundation, for an opera, which, with all its limited means, has since obtained the approbation of the court and the public. It was a hard time of restlessness and care, and my health was broken by it. The pressure of employment on all sides was so great, that I had no time to think of composition. I had been deprived of all social intercourse with my friends, some of whom had scarcely received a token of my existence for a twelvemonth. I had hoped to carry through my arrangements for my marriage in the end of August, when the task was suddenly imposed upon me of composing an Italian cantata for the nuptial ceremony of our Princess Maria Anne, to be completed at the very moment when I was in the midst of my arrangements for my new residence. The ceremony was put off from day to day, and this period of uncertainty, night and day, I shall never forget. At last, on the 30th of October, I was allowed to set out. I completed my marriage at Prague on the 4th of November, and paid a visit on family matters to Manheim. I had taken your brother's work with me in the carriage, that I might avail myself of any moment I could find, but it was impossible. In the end of December I returned, when a fearful heap of arrears awaited me. I had pledged myself to the king to prepare a mass for his birth-day, which was to be my greatest work. It was completed on the 8th of March, 1818, being the fruit of nocturnal labour, at a

time when I was on the point of taking leave of this world altogether. My colleague Morlacchi had been travelling in Italy on leave ever since the end of August, 1817, and thus every thing lay on my shoulders * * * * Can a man, who has been conducting the opera for the last three years and a half, without playing a single piece of his own, though he had every facility for so doing—who is still indebted to his publisher in the completion of works begun a year before,—who has been for the same time, in a manner, dead to his friends, who has been unable to complete the opera which was expected at Berlin, be accused of thinking only of himself, or of wishing to suppress the talents of others? Both here and in Prague I have purposely represented nothing of my own, in order to convince the world that there may be such beings in it as directors who can foster the talents of others, and can be contented without listening eternally to their own music. I have not succeeded, it would seem, and it grieves me to the heart."

His marriage, to which he alludes in the above letter, was a happy one. His wife was the celebrated actress, Caroline Brand, with whom he had formed an acquaintance when at Prague. Weber had, in his extreme love of simplicity, and fear of display, forbidden all music on the occasion; but, to his surprise and emotion, no sooner had the priest concluded the ceremony, than a burst of music from the organ, and the voices of his scholars, who had been anxious thus to express their sympathy, greeted the newly-married pair.

These proofs of sympathy from his scholars were not undeserved. The task of instruction, even amidst his numerous and distracting avocations, had always been discharged by Weber with that zeal and conscientiousness which pervaded his conduct in all the relations of life. Young as he was, his distinguished talent and enthusiasm for the art had early attracted towards him many pupils, and he seems to have mingled with his musical tuition an almost parental regard and anxiety for their success in life, and the general formation of their character. He censured their moral errors with the same readiness as their musical, he harmonized their whole mental constitution, and endeavoured to impress upon it that piety, charity, and unshaken but unpretending rectitude of purpose, which distinguished his own. Some passages, in a farewell letter addressed by him to a pupil who was about to leave him to commence his career in the world, indicate a remarkable union of tenderness and good sense.

"I feel myself called on, dear Emilius, before our parting, to repeat to you in writing what I have so often verbally endeavoured to impress upon your heart. When you became my scholar, I felt myself charged with the care of your whole being, for I cannot separate the artist from the man. You know how thoroughly I despise that miscalled 'geni-

ality,' which considers the life of an artist as a license to all excesses, and a permission to violate all the restraints of modesty and decorum. True, an indulgence in the dreams of fancy is but too apt to infect our intercourse with real life; it is pleasant to feel ourselves so carried away. But here it is that a man must preserve his strength of mind, and make his choice, whether by governing his feelings he shall move at once freely and steadily along the path which is pointed out for him; or whether, not possessing, but possessed by his feelings, he shall be whirled giddily about like an insane Fakir in the worship of a wretched idol.

"Persevering diligence is the true spell by which these mischievous influences on the heart are to be counteracted. How absurd to suppose that the mind is cramped by the serious study of means? Free creative power is the result of habits of self-control alone; the mind must be content to move along beaten paths, if it would finally reach the region of novelty. * * * * Dear Emilius, with your acuteness, ambition, and talent, you sin against heaven, your parents, your art, and your instructor, if you abandon yourself any longer to idle dreams and extravagant excesses; if you do not study with firm perseverance, and with that order and method which alone can teach a man how to live in and for the world. Your unsteadiness, your disregard of promises and appointments have become a bye-word among your friends. It is the proud distinction of a man to be the slave of his word. Do not flatter yourself with the illusion that you may be careless in such matters, and not in things of greater importance. It is little matters that make up the mass of life, and the fearful power of custom will soon prevent the best intentions from being reduced to action. I trust, however, in HIM who directs all things for good. In the life of all of us there are turning points which are decisive of our future existence for good or evil. Let it be your care to enter on the right path; keep before your eyes the duties of your art; learn to be true to yourself, and your own feelings will richly reward you for any sacrifices which the effort may cost."

It is gratifying to learn, that the individual to whom this paternal remonstrance was addressed, justified by his after conduct the hopes of his instructor. He died early, but not without manifesting in the subsequent part of his conduct the impression which Weber's advice had left upon his mind.

In these laborious duties, Weber's time had passed down to 1818. The absence of Morlacchi, to which he alludes in the letter already quoted, had thrown upon him the whole duties of the opera. In May, 1818, after finishing the Grand Mass for the birth-day of the King, the state of his health was such, that he received permission to return to the country. Until about the close of 1819, he had been in the habit of furnishing a series of regular criticisms on dramatic music. These he now abandoned, partly from the state of his health, partly from an invidious attack upon him in a Dresden newspaper, where he was accused of labouring to suppress all talent but his own and that of his

flatterers and protegés. These observations were on occasion of the announcement of Meyerbeer's "Emma di Rodrigo," and "Alimelec," which had been played at the Royal Theatre that spring, and their object was to produce the impression that Weber had been unjust to the merit of his old friend. This consideration alone induced the former to notice the attack, which he did in a most conclusive reply. But perceiving by experience the thousand vexations to which the most honest reviewer is exposed, he in a great measure abandoned his musical criticisms. During his tranquillity in the country, however, he composed part of his *Preciosa*, the story of which is taken from one of Cervantes's "Novelas Exemplares;" and commenced another opera which had been long before commissioned for the Berlin Theatre, the well-known "Freyschütz," founded on a romance of Apel's. His friend Kind, by whom the text of the opera was to be framed, had at first given it the name of the "Jager's Bride," which was afterwards changed for the more striking title (to a German ear) of "The Enchanted Bullets." These labours were for a time interrupted by the sickness of his wife; but in spring, 1820, the *Preciosa* was, for the first time, played at Berlin; and in 1821, the newly-erected royal opera there was opened with "Der Freyschütz."

The effect produced by the first representation of this romantic opera, which we shall never cease to regard as one of the proudest achievements of genius, was almost unprecedented. It was received with general acclamations, and raised his name at once to the first eminence in operatic composition. In January it was played in Dresden, in February at Vienna, and every where with the same success. Weber alone seemed calm and undisturbed amid the general enthusiasm. He pursued his studies quietly, and was already deeply engaged in the composition of a comic opera, "The Three Pintos," never completed, and had accepted a commission for another of a romantic cast for the Vienna stage. The text was at first to have been furnished by Rellstab, but was ultimately written by Madame de Chezy, and written in so imperfect and impracticable a style, that, with all Rellstab's alterations, never had a musician more to contend with than poor Weber had to do with this old French story. As it is, however, he has caught the spirit of the tale.

"Dance and Provençal song, and vintage mirth,"

breathe in his melodies; and although a perplexed plot and want of interest in the scene greatly impaired its theatrical effect, the approbation with which it was notwithstanding received by all judges of music on its first representation in Vienna (10th Oct.

1823) sufficiently attested the triumph of the composer over his difficulties. He was repeatedly called for and received with the loudest acclamations. From Vienna, where he was conducting his Euryanthe, he was summoned to Prague, to superintend the fiftieth representation of his "Freyschutz." His tour resembled a triumphal procession; for, on his return to Dresden, he was greeted with a formal public reception in the theatre.

But while increasing in celebrity, and rising still higher, if that were possible, in the estimation of the public, his health was rapidly waning, amidst his anxious and multiplied duties. "Would to God," says he in a letter written shortly afterwards,—"Would to God that I were a tailor, for then I should have a Sunday's holiday!" Meantime a cough, the herald of consumption, tormented him, and "the slow minings of the hectic fire" within began to manifest themselves more visibly in days and nights of feverish excitement. It was in the midst of this that he accepted the task of composing an opera for Covent Garden Theatre. His fame, which had gradually made its way through the North of Germany, (where his Freyschutz was played in 1823,) to England, induced the managers to offer him liberal terms for an opera on the subject of Oberon, the well-known fairy tale on which Wieland has reared his fantastic but beautiful and touching comic Epos. He received the first act of Planché's manuscript in December, 1824, and forthwith began his labours, though he seems to have thought that the worthy managers, in the short time they were disposed to allow him, were expecting impossibilities, particularly as the first step towards its composition, on Weber's part, was the study of the English language itself, the right understanding of which, Weber justly considered as preliminary to any attempt to marry Mr. Planché's ephemeral verses to his own immortal music. These exertions increased his weakness so much, that he found it necessary to resort to a watering-place in the summer of 1825. In December he returned to Berlin, to bring out his Euryanthe there in person. It was received, as might have been anticipated, with great applause, though less enthusiastically than the Freyschutz, the wild and characteristic music of which came home with more intensity to the national mind. After being present at two representations, he returned to his labours at Oberon.

The work, finally, having been completed, Weber determined, himself to be present at the representation of this his last production. He hoped, by his visit to London, to realize something for his wife and family; for hitherto, on the whole, poverty had been his companion. Want had indeed, by unceasing exertion, been kept aloof, but still hovering near him, and threatening with

the decline of his health, and his consequent inability to discharge his duties, a nearer and a nearer approach. Already he felt the conviction that his death was not far off, and that his wife and children would soon be deprived of that support which his efforts had hitherto afforded them. His intention was to return from London by Paris, where he expected to form a definitive arrangement relative to an opera which the Parisians had long requested from him. He left Dresden early in 1826, accompanied by his friend Furstenau, a celebrated performer on the flute, travelling in a comfortable carriage, which his health rendered indispensable. His cough was less troublesome on the journey than it had latterly been. He reached Paris on the 25th of February, where he was received in the most flattering manner by all the musicians and composers of eminence, among others by Rossini, who was so anxious to see him, that he had called before his arrival, that he might ascertain the exact moment of his coming. On the 27th he was present at the first representation of Spontini's "Olympia;" and though no great admirer of the composer, the way in which the opera was performed elicited his warmest approbation. "How splendid a spectacle," says he, "is the opera here! The noble building, the masses upon the stage, and in the orchestra, are imposing, almost awful. The orchestra in particular has a strength and a fire such as I never before witnessed." The longer he remained in Paris, the more the number of his visitors increased. "I cannot venture to describe to you," he writes to his wife, "how I am received here. It would be the excess of vanity. The very paper would blush for me, were I to write down half of what the greatest living artists here tell me. If I don't die of pride now, I am ensured against that fate for ever." Though thus breathing an atmosphere of flattery, and feeling his health and spirits improving amidst the novelty of the scene, his letters betray his longing to revisit his domestic circle, and his resolution never again to undertake so long a journey without the comfort of their society.

On the 2d of March he left Paris for England, which he reached on the 4th amidst a heavy shower of rain,—a gloomy opening to his visit. The first incident, however, that happened after his arrival, showed how highly his character and talents were appreciated. Instead of requiring to present himself as an alien at the Passport Office, he was immediately waited upon by the officer with the necessary papers, and requested to think of nothing but his own health, as every thing would be managed for him. On the 6th he writes to his wife from London.

"God be thanked! here I sit, well and hearty, already quite at home, and perfectly happy in the receipt of your dear letter, which assures me

that you and the children are well; what more or what better could I wish for? After sleeping well and paying well at Dover, we set out yesterday morning in the Express coach, a noble carriage drawn by four English horses, such as no prince need be ashamed of. With four persons within, four in front, and four behind, we dashed on with the rapidity of lightning through this inexpressibly beautiful country; meadows of the loveliest green, gardens blooming with flowers, and every building displaying a neatness and elegance which form a striking contrast to the dirt of France. The majestic river, covered with ships of all sizes, (among others the largest ship of the line, of 148 guns,) the graceful country houses, altogether made the journey perfectly unique."

He took up his residence with Sir George Smart, where every thing that could add to his comfort or soothe his illness had been provided by anticipation. He found his table covered with cards from visitors who had called before his arrival, and a splendid pianoforte in his room from one of the first makers, with a request that he would make use of it during his stay.

"The whole day," he writes to his wife, "is mine till five, then dinner, the theatre, or society. My solitude in England is not painful to me. The English way of living suits mine exactly, and my little stock of English, in which I make tolerable progress, is of incalculable use to me.

"Give yourself no uneasiness about the opera (Oberon), I shall have leisure and repose here, for they respect my time. Besides, the Oberon is not fixed for Easter Monday, but some time later; I shall tell you afterwards when. The people are really too kind to me. No king ever had more done for him out of love; I may almost say they carry me in their arms. I take great care of myself, and you may be quite at ease on my account. My cough is really a very odd one. For eight days it disappeared entirely; then, upon the third (of March), a vile spasmodic attack returned before I reached Calais. Since that time it is quiet again. I cannot, with all the consideration I have given it, understand it at all. I sometimes deny myself every indulgence, and yet it comes. I eat and drink every thing, and it does not come. But be it as God will.

"At seven o'clock in the evening we went to Covent Garden, where Rob Roy, an opera after Sir Walter Scott's novel, was played. The house is handsomely decorated, and not too large. When I came forward to the front of the stage-box, that I might have a better look of it, some one called out, Weber! Weber is here! and although I drew back immediately, there followed a clamour of applause which I thought would never have ended. Then the overture to the Freyschutz was called for, and every time I showed myself the storm broke loose again. Fortunately, soon after the overture, Rob Roy began, and gradually things became quiet. Could a man wish for more enthusiasm, or more love? I must confess that I was completely overpowered by it, though I am of a calm nature, and somewhat accustomed to such scenes. I know not what I would have given to have had you by my side, that you might have seen

me in my foreign garb of honour. And now, my dear love, I can assure you that you may be quite at ease, both as to the singers and the orchestra. Miss Paton is a singer of the first rank, and will play Reiza divinely. Braham not less so, though in a totally different style. There are also several good tenors, and I really cannot see why the English singing should be so much abused. The singers have a perfectly good Italian education, fine voices, and expression. The orchestra is not remarkable, but still very good, and the choruses particularly so. In short, I feel quite at ease as to the fate of Oberon."

The final production of the drama, however, was attended with more difficulty than he had anticipated. He had the usual prejudices to overcome, particular singers to conciliate, alterations to make, and repeated rehearsals to superintend, before he could inspire the performers with the proper spirit of the piece.

"Braham," says he, "in another of his confidential letters to his wife, (29th March, 1826) "begs for a grand scena instead of his first air, which, in fact, was not written for him, and is rather high. The thought of it was at first quite horrible; I could not hear of it. At last I promised, when the opera was completed, if I had time enough, it should be done; and now this grand scena, a confounded battle piece and what not, is lying before me, and I am about to set to work, yet with the greatest reluctance. What can I do? Braham knows his public, and is idolized by them. But for Germany I shall keep the opera as it is. I hate the air I am going to compose (to-day I hope) by anticipation. Adieu, and now for the battle. * * * * * * * * * So, the battle is over, that is to say, half the scene. To-morrow shall the Turks roar, the French shout for joy, the warriors cry out victory!"

The battle was indeed nearly over with Weber. The tired forces of life, though they bore up gallantly against the enemy, had long been wavering at their post, and now in fact only one brilliant movement remained to be executed before they finally retreated from the field of existence. This was the representation of Oberon, which for a time rewarded him for all his toils and vexations. He records his triumph with a mixture of humility, gratitude, affection, and piety.

"12*th April*, 1826.

"My best beloved Caroline! Through God's grace and assistance I have this evening met with the most complete success. The brilliancy and affecting nature of the triumph is indescribable. God alone be thanked for it! When I entered the orchestra, the whole of the house, which was filled to overflowing, rose up, and I was saluted by huzzas, waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which I thought would never have done. They insisted on encoring the overture. Every air was interrupted twice or thrice by bursts of applause. * * * * * So much for this night, dear life: from your heartily tired hus-

band, who, however, could not sleep in peace until he had communicated to you this new blessing of heaven. Good night."

But his joy was interrupted by the gradual decline of his health. The climate of London brought back all those symptoms which his travelling had for a time alleviated or dissipated. After directing twelve performances of his Oberon in crowded houses, he felt himself completely exhausted and dispirited. His melancholy was not abated by the ill success of his concert, which, from causes we cannot pretend to explain, was no benefit to the poor invalid. His next letters are in a desponding tone.

"17*th April*, 1826.

"To-day is enough to be the death of any one. A thick, dark, yellow fog overhangs the sky, so that one can hardly see in the house without candles. The sun stands powerless, like a ruddy point, in the clouds. No: there is no living in this climate. The longing I feel for Hosterwitz, and the clear air, is indescribable. But patience,—patience—one day rolls on after another; two months are already over. I have formed an acquaintance with Dr. Kind, a nephew of our own Kind. He is determined to make me well. God help me, that will never happen to me in this life. I have lost all hope in physicians and their art. Repose is my best doctor, and henceforth it shall be my sole object to obtain it. * * * *

"To-morrow is the first representation of my (so called) rival's opera, 'Aladdin.' I am very curious to see it. Bishop is a man of talent, though of no peculiar invention. I wish him every success. There is room enough for all of us in the world."

"30*th May*.

"Dearest Lina, excuse the shortness and hurry of this. I have so many things on hand, writing is painful to me—my hands tremble so. Already too impatience begins to awaken in me. You will not receive many more letters from me. Address your answer not to London, but to Frankfort—*poste restante*. You are surprised? Yes, I don't go by Paris. What should I do there—I cannot move—I cannot speak—all business I must give up for years. Then better, better, the straight way to my home—by Calais, Brussels, Cologne, and Coblentz, up the Rhine to Frankfort—a delightful journey. Though I must travel slowly, rest sometimes half a day, I think in a fortnight, by the end of June, I shall be in your arms.

"If God will, we shall leave this on 12th June, if heaven will only vouchsafe me a little strength. Well, all will go better if we are once on the way—once out of this wretched climate. I embrace you from my heart, my dear ones—ever your loving father Charles."

This letter, the last but one he ever wrote, shows the rapid decline of his strength, though he endeavours to keep up the spirits of his family by a gleam of cheerfulness. His longing for home now began to increase till it became a pang. On the 6th June he was to be present at the Freyschutz, which was to be

performed for his benefit, and then to leave London for ever. His last letter, the thirty-third he had written from England, was dated the second of June. Even here, though he could scarcely guide the pen, anxious to keep up the drooping spirits of his wife, he endeavours to speak cheerfully, and to inspire a hope of his return.

"As this letter will need no answer, it will be short enough. Need no answer! Think of that! Furstenau has given up the idea of his concert, so perhaps we shall be with you in two days sooner—huzza! God bless you all, and keep you well! O were I only among you. I kiss you in thought, dear mother. Love me also, and think always of your Charles, who loves you above all."

On Friday, the 3d of June, he felt so ill that the idea of his attending at the representation of "Der Freyschutz" was abandoned, and he was obliged to keep his room. On Sunday evening, the 5th, he was left at 11 o'clock in good spirits, and at 7 next morning was found dead upon his pillow, his head resting upon his hand, as though he had passed from life without a struggle. The peaceful slumber of the preceding evening seemed to have gradually deepened into the sleep of death.

He was interred on the 21st, with the accustomed solemnities of the Catholic Church, in the chapel at Moorfields, the Requiem of Mozart being introduced into the service. In person, Weber is described as having been of the middle height, extremely thin, and of dark complexion. His countenance was strikingly intelligent, his face long and pale, his forehead remarkably high, his features prominent, his eyes dark and full. His usual look was one of calm placid thought, an expression which was increased in some degree by spectacles, which he wore on account of his shortness of sight. The force and acuteness of his mind were indicated in the occasional brilliancy of the expression of his countenance; the habitual patience and mildness of his disposition, in its permanent look of placidity and repose.

To characterise such a man as Weber is not an easy task, though we may now approach it with more chance of impartiality than amidst the excitement and regret which followed his early death. When "Science' self destroys her favourite son," and a great and good man drops suddenly into the grave from the very earnestness of his pursuit after immortality; dies too—far from his home and friends—in a land "where other voices speak, and other sights surround," our feelings are so mixed up and blended with our judgment, that we are at first inclined to overrate his services, or to exaggerate the range and compass of his ability. Something perhaps analogous took place in the case of Weber. Much vague and unmeaning compliment, much idle declamation, and many

false views, would require to be cleared away before the man himself could be seen and appreciated in his simplicity. But Weber is, fortunately, one who, even when deprived of these trappings, retains the dignity and the honours of a great artist; nay, perhaps, like the Sybilline books, he loses little or nothing of his value by their abridgement.

As a composer, amidst the flood of excellence which his works display, we have some difficulty in singling out the quality for which he stood most pre-eminent. We think, however, that he was in no respect more distinguished than for the perfect originality of his style. He imitates no particular master, he is the slave of no particular school, and can scarcely be said to take the cue from any of his predecessors or cotemporaries. He walks in a path decidedly and peculiarly his own; and yet with all this originality, with a style so strongly, so indelibly marked, that it can never be mistaken, he is perhaps less of a mannerist than any composer of his day. The character of his music always varies with the subject. Unlike that of some, it is no Procrustes'-bed, to which all themes whatever are forcibly subjected and fitted in so as to correspond with its precise form and dimensions. On the contrary, his compositions, as they invariably spring from the contemplation of the subject, possess all the beauty and variety incident to it; and when we turn to his laughing chorus, the striking and singular effect of which is produced by the adaptation of the very phenomenon which usually takes place on the vocal organs when the risible faculties are agitated—to the cries of terror and dismay which break from Max when struggling to escape from the demon, and to many other passages of his works, we are impressed with the idea that the object which he had constantly in view was simply to modulate the voice of nature so as to bring it within the laws of musical expression. So completely, indeed, has he followed the course which nature points out, that we may apply to him with the most perfect justice the high eulogium which Pope pronounces on Shakspeare, when he describes him as being "less an imitator than an instrument of nature," and adds "that it is not so just to say of him that he speaks from her as that *she* speaks through *him*."

The consequence of this is, that his works are remarkable for the individuality of their character; and, in this respect, they admit of being favourably contrasted with those of his great rival Rossini. His Freyschutz, his Preciosa, his Oberon, his Euryanthe, are so distinct from each other, we may venture to say that, with a person ignorant of their author, they might pass for the productions of a different artist; but let any one for the first time hear a series of Rossini's operas, and if he did not, without

being informed, very soon find out that the author of Tancredi wrote the Barber of Seville, we should have no very high opinion of his musical discrimination. There are, indeed, many points in which it would be desirable to institute a comparison between these two great masters, and there is one in particular which we cannot resist alluding to, but which at the same time we do not feel ourselves at liberty to dilate upon. We should be sorry to praise the dead, at the expense of the living; and while we are quite ready to hold up the pure, spotless, amiable, and *unpretending* character of the one, as a perfect model for the imitation of his professional brethren and of his fellow-men, we feel that we have no right, and we have certainly no wish, to assume the ungracious office of censors upon the conduct of the other. To contrast his *morale*, or that of almost any man, with the career of the former, would be putting it to a severe test; and with regard to Rossini, when we reflect upon the loose and profligate society in which he passed his earlier years, the vagrant life which he led, the temptations by which he was surrounded, and his own ardent temperament, we should be uncharitable indeed, if we did not regard, with every feeling of indulgence, errors and irregularities which the matured man has outlived, and, we trust, atoned for. If, therefore, we recall to mind the following little circumstance, we do so simply because we consider it highly characteristic of the slovenly way in which operas are got up in Italy, and the sort of judgment which is there exercised on the part of the composer and the audience. What we allude to is the well-known incident which happened at Venice some years ago, upon the production of Rossini's opera of "Odoardo e Cristina," which went off with prodigious *eclat;* because, as his biographer tells us, no one in Italy ever thinks of reading or attending to the "*words*" of an opera; for had they done so they would have discovered, that what they admired so excessively consisted of a mere jumble, a piece of patchwork, which, in point of conception and character, could have had no earthly relation to the piece, as it had all been most carefully selected by the *maestro* himself out of two of his own operas which had shortly before been performed at Naples with great success. The fact was, that when the libretto arrived, unhappily for the unfortunate *impressario*, who was nearly ruined in consequence, the composer was too deeply engaged in the affairs of the heart to trouble his head with the business of composition.

We need hardly say that a German audience would have been more critical, and a German composer more scrupulous. In regard to Weber, he never wrote without having studied his subject in all its bearings, and deeply imbued his mind with its

spirit and sentiment. In the execution, every thing manifests the utmost care and refinement, the most consummate judgment and propriety; the most admirable congruity pervades the *tout ensemble*, and the result always is, what can scarcely ever be said in regard to any of Rossini's works, one perfect and uniform whole. This unity extends even to the overture, which it most certainly ought to do (although his illustrious rival seems to be so little of that opinion, that he makes use of the self-same overture to preface no fewer than three of his operas); and in this particular we know no composer who has been more felicitous. Whatsoever he has written in this shape is the perfect *beau ideal* of this class of composition. His overtures, particularly his greatest, that of the Freyschutz, contain a sort of miniature representation of the plot and design of the opera: they are like a mirror, in which all its rays are collected into one focus; and thus, they fix the tone and character of the piece in the mind, and form an excellent preparative for what follows.

We see in Rossini a perpetual recurrence to the same series of modulation, and as in *Di piacere* and *Una voce*, he is constantly reproducing the same ideas in different shapes; he is always, in short, revolving and re-revolving within a limited sphere. Doubtless, within that sphere, his pretensions to originality, to a felicity, a light, a brilliancy unequalled, to a genius, which, at the age of twenty-four, had subjected all Europe to its power, are incontestable. But genius, that clear fountain from which all original ideas flow, will sometimes run dry when the soil from which it springs is not occasionally moistened by the dews of study and contemplation. We are convinced that it is only in this way that the faults to which we have alluded—mannerism and an exclusive partiality for a particular style—are to be avoided. "How absurd," says Weber, in one of the letters we have quoted, "to suppose that the mind is cramped by the serious study of means." As well might it be said that a knowledge of mankind contracted our notions, and strengthened our prejudices, as that an intimate familiarity with the works of the great masters, their principles, and their practice, had a tendency to repress the natural expansion of the faculties! It may have occasionally happened that individuals by no means destitute of talent, by losing sight of the ends to which the acquisitions they were engaged in amassing were truly subservient, or from too great a veneration for a particular model, have been led to become followers in a path, where nature, had they obeyed her dictates, had qualified them to take the lead; but in all vigorous and well organised minds, application judiciously directed has always, and will ever, produce an opposite effect, and impart fresh impulse to the creative powers.

Such certainly was the case with Weber. We may consider the production of the Freyschütz as the great land-mark of his fame—the brightest spot in his existence; and when we take a retrospect of his previous career of patient, laborious industry, it would appear as if till then he had been proceeding, step by step, to the lofty eminence to which it raised him. He had never previously undertaken a work of equal magnitude. His antecedent operatic productions had been of a much lighter and less elaborate fabric; but, besides these, his detached pieces, consisting, as they chiefly did, of Masses, Symphonies, Cantatas, Concertos and Sonatas for stringed and wind instruments, were of a nature to render him well versed in every species of style, and intimately acquainted with the uses and capabilities of the different instruments. By these means, in conjunction with the experience he had acquired in dramatic as well as musical effect, he was enabled, when the occasion at last presented itself, to develop his great talents in the fullness of their maturity, by producing an opera equally remarkable for the beautiful, expressive, and novel character of its melody, and the ingenious and scientific nature of its instrumentation. If we were to assign a reason why we think this opera should place its author only a little lower than Mozart, it would be the inimitable manner in which the charms and expression of the vocal department are heightened and enforced by the happiest and most skilful choice and distribution of all the means and resources which the powers of harmony could call into operation. These are the *chiaro oscuro*, the colouring, the filling up of the picture; and unless they are effected by the hand of a finished artist, the production is by so much the less perfect; nothing, therefore, can be more clear than that wherever any imperfection exists in the sinfonial parts, it must proportionally detract from the excellence of the whole. The operatic scores of Paisiello and Cimarosa, exquisite as are their melodies, are but meagre and unsatisfactory in comparison with those of Mozart, of Beethoven in his Fidelio, of Weber, nay, even of Mayer, Paer, Weigl, and Winter.

We are now treading upon debateable ground; we have passed the confines of the question which has so long divided the Italian and the German school. But we cannot regard as a matter of doubt, or as any thing short of a violent national prejudice, the opinion of those dogmatists who, for upwards of twenty years after his death, would deny a hearing to the *chef d'œuvres* of Mozart, and who even yet turn a deaf ear to many of his happiest effusions. If the most appropriate, the most varied, and the most effective accompaniments are not to be called in to the aid of the song, and if these are not to be adjusted with that degree of skill,

delicacy and judgment which a great symphonist alone possesses, —or if, when thus accomplished, we are to be told that the effect produced is an interruption to the *cantilena*—an unwarrantable encroachment upon its prerogative,—let our orchestra be at once dismissed—a few chords struck upon one of Broadwood's grand-pianofortes, or at most a *septett* of performers, will produce all the body of sound which admits of being tolerated. Accompaniment is the art of enforcing and setting off to the greatest advantage the effect of the principal part, and as such, both in the composition and in the performance, it has always been regarded as perhaps the most arduous and delicate branch of the art. Now, if the objectors to the German school could show, that its most illustrious masters had failed in the execution of this part of their task—that their accompaniments, instead of being subservient, had actually predominated, to the injury of the vocal effect, we should not for a moment hesitate to concur with them. But we have never observed this to be the case, except when they happened to be ill performed, a circumstance of which the Italians had frequent experience on the first introduction of Mozart's music into Italy, and which, we have no doubt, had its influence in rivetting this prejudice. Upon this occasion we are told, that it was remarked, by one of their *cognoscenti*, that the German accompaniments were not "mere guards of honour to the song, but actually *gens d'armes*," a simile which conveys a lively idea of the miserable style in which the orchestra had performed its functions, while it affords a fair enough exemplification of what these judges consider that the art of accompaniment should consist of. "Guards of honour!" by which we are of course to understand, a sort of military *cortege*, whose duty it is to stand sentry for the protection of the song, holding no farther communication with it than by firing an occasional salute—a mere piece of etiquette in short, of about as much importance as the sentry who used nocturnally to mount guard at one side of the proscenium of the opera house, to let us know that we were sitting in the King's theatre.

That the human voice is the most delicious of all instruments none will be hardy enough to deny, nor will any one be surprised to find that where it exists in perfection, it will be cultivated in preference to instruments of an artificial kind. We need not, therefore, wonder that the Italians, gifted by nature with the richest vocal organization, should luxuriate in the delights of melody, in preference to all other species of musical gratification—that they should prefer to listen to their Pacchierottis, their Marchesis, and their Davids, to all the instrumentalists in the world—and that their composers, giving way to the public *penchant*, should, like so many jackalls, exert all their efforts to

supply them with the necessary wherewithal to enable them to display their powers, and that, so far from rendering permanent, they would do all in their power to sink a branch of the art which might rival, or occasionally hold a *divisum imperium* along with them. Thus it is, that in this country melody has expanded itself into a rank and excessive luxuriance. The Germans again seem to have steered a middle course. As nature has not been quite so bountiful to them with respect to voice, they have not been seduced to cultivate one branch of the art to the exclusion of the other. With them, accordingly, melody and harmony have grown up like twin sisters, reciprocally to sympathize with and support each other. It is in this relation, we think, they appear most graceful. Melody, as the elder of the two, may be entitled to a certain degree of deference; but we are always sorry when we observe any coldness or reserve existing between them; and herein, we apprehend, the great error of the partizans of the opposite opinion lies—they consider them as strangers to each other, and discourage that mutual affection which is constantly prompting the one to cling to the other.

The point at issue here seems to us to be so very clearly in favour of the German school, that it is quite unnecessary to extend the argument farther. Our only reason for entering on it at all, is, that Weber's proudest distinction seems in great measure to hinge upon it. In this particular, however, we are happy to think that he has one powerful and more than sufficient guarantee—his fate is linked with that of Mozart; and those who are of opinion (and there are few who are not), that Don Giovanni and the Zauberflote are the best models of operatic composition, will not be slow to admit that Der Freyschutz and Oberon follow closely after them. The reputation of that artist is built upon a rock who to the inspiration of the purest melody has superadded all the means and resources of the most accomplished symphonist. If, however, these qualities are, as we suspect, the veritable stamina to ensure length of fame, what are we to say to the earlier works of the greatest of living composers? Are we to conclude that all his delicious arias are doomed to premature oblivion? The magic of genius, we trust, will avert that fate; but that the superstructure would have promised a longer term of endurance if it had been built of less flimsy materials, the author of the *Siege of Corinth* and of *William Tell*, we dare say, would be the first to avow. Except that his accompaniments are more massive, that there is more reduplication of parts, and the work is less minute and *travaillé*, Rossini seems now to have fairly gone over to the German faction, and never regards his operas as complete until he has given the last finishing touch to the orchestral

arrangements; and the result has been that his latter works have raised him in the estimation of connoisseurs. But they are not received with half the enthusiasm and delight which ushered in his earlier operas. The days are gone, when, in all the fire and buoyancy of youth, he was wont to transport his hearers into extacy with such strains as " Di tanti palpiti" and " Amor possente nome." Some may think that such scintillations of genius are only to be struck out in the morning of life; but of this we are by no means certain. If we advert, for instance, to the compositions of Haydn, we shall find that the flowing and graceful melody of his latter works is as instinct with beauty and life as any which he produced in the early part of his career. Rossini is yet in the vigour of life, and if his works do not sparkle now as they once did, it can only be because the vein which he has so long excavated, and the ore of which he has expanded until it is reduced to the highest possible state of tenuity, is at last exhausted. Had he adopted the same course which Weber followed—had he, instead of squandering, in the very wantonness of extravagance, the rich patrimony which nature had given him, replenished his stores and refreshed his invention by study and thought, his success might not have been so electrifying, but it would have been more lasting, and at the present moment, instead of finding his resources abated, they would, perhaps, have been inexhaustible; instead of being the *facile princeps* of his own style, leaving so many tracks uncultivated, he might have been the successful rival of almost every great master in his own department; finally, instead of being merely great in his generation, which we fear he is, with posterity, we venture to say, he would be still greater.

If Weber struck out a new path any where, it was in modulation, and in this respect he is eminently distinguished above the imitators of Mozart and Rossini, who are content to pursue the even tenor of their way, availing themselves of the identical route which they had travelled with so much greater advantage, and who have consequently done nothing to extend the boundaries of their art. The melody of Weber is characterized by a total freedom from all restraint. It is bold, striking, and diversified; so much so, indeed, that he has sometimes been accused of having wandered too far from the beaten track. For ourselves, we think that this is the very quality which throws around his music the inspiring freshness which constitutes its greatest charm. Weber no doubt felt, that, in this age of imitation, we were wearied to death with the monotony of the many, and that it was absolutely necessary that our jaded appetites should be regaled with something a little more piquant and *recherché*. If we look back a

few years in the annals of music, we behold the art of melody regulated entirely by the dictates of theorists, who laid down its laws *ex cathedrâ*, and appointed the course in which it was to run. But the genius of Haydn arose, and taught musicians the great truth, that melody knew no bounds but those which nature had set up, and that the true criterion of accuracy was to be found not in its correspondence with certain factitious systems, but in its effects upon the ear; that music, in short, instead of being, as of old, a prisoner of the schools along with arithmetic and geometry, belonged entirely to the regions of sound, where it merely consisted, as he quaintly expressed it, of the study and apprehension of "what was good, what was better, what was bad." The old moulds of the contra-puntists were now broken, and their system gradually wore out. Composers henceforth wrote in utter defiance of antiquated fashions and prejudices, and the improvements which took place in the art were like those which ensued on the introduction of the modern style of gardening. The parallel and rectangular walks, the interminable avenues, and the formal rows of clipped hedges, vanished; and in lieu of them the face of nature was decked in her most artless and picturesque array. With regard to the melody of Weber, it may be said to be laid out in the most captivating and beautiful variety, at one time resembling a rich and luxuriant garden, at another a tangled wilderness,—now opening to us, in Oberon, glimpses of fairy land, or surrounding us with the associations of the east,—now suddenly recalling us to the darker sources of northern superstition, and

> "Wonders wild of Arabesque combin'd
> With Gothic imagery of darker shade."

Like Salvator, he gloried in delineating the wild and savage aspects of nature, and in wandering, like Beethoven, in her sullen and more gloomy recesses. The romantic turn of his mind, inspired by his early studies, rendered the wild legend of the Freyschutz, perhaps, the most suitable subject on which he could have employed his talents. In depicting, or rather in aggravating the horrors of the wolf's glen, with its fearful omens, and all its unearthly sights and sounds, in painting the grief and despair of his hero and the gloomy demoniacal spirit of the lost and abandoned Casper, he found full scope for his peculiar talent. Were we to compare him with any of our romance writers we would say that he possessed, though mingled with and controlled by a finer taste and far greater discretion, a congeniality of soul with Monk Lewis, or Mrs. Radcliffe; and rich as the dramatic literature of his country is in tales of superstition and diablerie, we think it is to be regretted that he did not, at least, furnish us with

another romantic opera from that prolific source. His forte certainly lay in the treatment of this description of subjects.

To have formed a full and complete estimate of Weber's talent as a composer, it would have been necessary to have entered into a minute analysis of his works, but our readers must be aware that to have done so would of itself have exhausted all the space which we have devoted to this article. We have accordingly been obliged to confine ourselves to a brief and general survey of some of those more prominent traits which appear to us in an especial manner to have contributed to his exalted reputation. We rise from the task as much impressed with the sterling worth of his musical compositions as with the excellence of his private character. Both were masculine and nervous, disdaining trick and hating all vulgar appeals to popularity; as an artist and a man, Weber reposed in the consciousness of his own strength and a confidence that in due time his merits would be appreciated by those whose approbation alone he was anxious to obtain. Although a national composer, in so far as he followed up the course in which his compatriots have so nobly set the example, the great success of his productions in other countries, particularly in our own, sufficiently attests their universal character, and leads us to hope, that, like the works of all truly great and inspired genius, they will form the delight of future ages as they have done of this, and obtain a hearing when the more ephemeral productions of the day are forgotten.

ART. V.—*Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens, depuis sa décadence au IVe siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVIe*; par J. B. L. Seroux d'Agincourt. Ouvrage enrichi de 325 planches. 6 tomes. folio. Paris. 1823.

IT has sometimes been said, that he who would see self-conceit in its utmost perfection ought to visit the abode of savages; for the savage admires nothing but himself, and atones by the excess for the very limited range which he suffers his admiration to take. Few, however, have the opportunities, the inclination and the qualifications that are necessary for verifying this remark. It is more easy, indeed, to be convinced by actual observation, that the clown esteems only the inhabitants of his own village; that the countryman, who is somewhat less rude, extends his good opinion over the whole of his county; and that the people of towns and cities, being still further advanced in toleration, will applaud any deserving citizen of the state to which they belong. A larger improvement softens national prejudices, and teaches the natives of a country that foreigners may possibly have a just claim to

the most rich in literature, possess the greatest share of moral excellence, or of political happiness. We are well aware that the true and happy age of Roman greatness long preceded that of Roman refinement and Roman authors, and I fear that there is but too much reason to suppose, that in the history of modern nations we may find many examples of the same kind. But even if we should not at all take into our consideration these high and more universal standards of the worth and excellence of ages and nations, and although we should entirely confine our attention to literature and intellectual cultivation alone, we ought still, I imagine, to be very far from viewing the period of the middle ages with the fashionable self-satisfaction and contempt."

"Even in the Christian age," he adds, "the national distinctions of Greeks and Romans were still kept alive; and if the former were remarkable for skill and subtilty, the latter were no less so for practical intellect and soundness of understanding. These qualities of the Roman mind, embodied as they were in that admirable system of laws, which was preserved all over the Roman west among the learned and the clergy, are entitled more than any others to our gratitude. It is to the influence of the Roman jurisprudence, united with the spirit of freedom and natural feeling introduced by those German tribes that conquered and restored the Roman empire, that we must ascribe the successful developement and dignified attitude of modern intellect."

We must postpone for the present the consideration of the literature of the middle ages, and of the assiduous and salutary culture of the civil law, which continually opened new springs of freshness and vigour, and not only maintained in perfection and purity the Latin tongue, and encouraged a diligent study of the choicest and chastest of the Roman classics, but tended powerfully in due time to the revival and encouragement of Greek letters; for he who, being acquainted, however perfectly, with Latin only, would discourse of the civil law, feels and seems, in comparison of one who is armed from head to foot in the panoply of Greek, like a child amongst men. It is of the history of art only during the middle ages that we now undertake to speak, an interesting subject, to the elucidation of which the author of the work before us devoted his whole life. We learn from the short biographical notice prefixed to it, that the ingenious author was born precisely a century ago, in the year 1730, at Beauvais, of an ancient and noble family. The details of his earlier years are not interesting, except perhaps that he had botanized in company with Rousseau, and that he had been entertained at Ferney by Voltaire, who honoured him moreover by addressing an obliging letter to him, which has been published. In his forty-seventh year he visited England, Holland, Belgium and a part of Germany, and returned to Paris, which city he quitted in the following year, 1778, intentionally for a long period, and in fact for ever. He proceeded to Italy, and passed the remainder of his life in

their esteem, as well as their own countrymen; that another people have their peculiar merits; and that in civilized nations the balance, as to good qualities and defects, is nearly equal. A person who has reached this point has already made considerable progress in liberality; nevertheless much still remains to be learnt; for those who are acquainted with no other age than that in which they live, although they may estimate fairly the pretensions of men remote only in place, will be very apt to undervalue, through the prejudice of ignorance, the merits of other days—to over-rate prodigiously the worth of their own age—and to suppose that whatever it affords of good, great or beautiful, has then appeared for the first time. They will fondly imagine that they are basking in the fulness of genial light and meridian warmth, and that all who preceded them groped about miserably in an universal and most pitiable darkness. Men who have enjoyed the greatest blessing which Providence can bestow, the unspeakable advantage of a liberal education, uniformly except two bright spots in the long night of moral and intellectual helplessness from the sweeping sentence of condemnation under which even they include the entire history of their species, the age of Pericles and that of Augustus; or rather they allow, if they have derived a reasonable benefit from the precious instruction they have received, that for several centuries, in Greece and in Rome, the inhabitants of those favoured countries were in a state in some measure resembling the refinement of modern times; and in proportion as their studies have been profound, and as they are familiar with the classical productions of those ages and of their own, are they inclined to set a higher value on the former. A long period intervenes between the last of the classics and the first of those writers who may properly be termed modern. With the character and productions of this period of at least a thousand years, few are acquainted; the most liberal and best instructed, the most accomplished and philosophical of scholars, alone can estimate them correctly.

"We often think of, and represent to ourselves," these are the words of a distinguished philosopher, "the middle ages as a blank in the history of the human mind—an empty space between the refinement of antiquity and the illumination of modern times. We are willing to believe that art and science had entirely perished, that their resurrection, after a thousand years sleep, may appear something more wonderful and sublime. Here, as in many other of our customary opinions, we are at once false, narrow-sighted and unjust; we give up substance for gaudiness, and sacrifice truth to effect. The fact is, that the substantial part of the knowledge and civilization of antiquity never was forgotten, and that for many of the best and noblest productions of modern genius, we are entirely obliged to the inventive spirit of the middle ages. It is upon the whole extremely doubtful whether these periods, which are

is necessary to consider the precise meaning of the title he has chosen, "*Histoire de l'Art* PAR *les Monumens;*" he endeavours to give a *History of Art* BY MEANS OF *Works of Art.* His object is not to compose a history from the testimony of others, but to make his reader an eye-witness of the events, and thereby enable him to form his own conclusions, not from the descriptions of others, but from actual inspection. It is, therefore, a demonstration, not in a mathematical sense exactly, (although in geometry the diagram is placed before the student,) but, as it were, a demonstration in anatomy; the organ is laid upon the table, and the lecturer explains its structure and points out the different parts in their order. This method has a two-fold advantage; the demonstrator explains more accurately and plainly when the object is in sight, and the pupil not only understands more clearly, and remembers more tenaciously what he sees, but in doubtful cases he can judge for himself whether he actually sees all that his tutor says may be seen. So is it with the present work. Every word was written deliberately when the object of which he wrote was before his eyes. There is no opening for ignorance or mistake, and it may be read as it was written; the representation is present to us; we have the same means of knowledge as the author had; we may compare him with himself. It follows, therefore, that reflections composed under such circumstances, by a person of vast experience, are entitled to great respect; and although we may not always accept his conclusions, it is impossible to slight or neglect his opinions. The entire number of the plates on which the history is founded amounts to 325: they are divided into three classes, and the history into three parts; 73 belong to Architecture, 48 to Sculpture, and the remaining 204 to Painting. An entire plate is sometimes occupied by a single subject, but more commonly it comprehends several. The extent of the work will be understood when it is stated that more than 1400 monuments are represented, and its value, when it is known that more than 700 of these were never engraved before.

Many of the figures are sufficiently large to be perfectly intelligible; others are so small that it is difficult to comprehend them. It was a natural desire to include as many illustrations as possible, and had they all been of a full size, the price and magnitude of the publication would necessarily have been enormously increased. If we wish sometimes that the style of engraving had always been such as would have done ample justice to the works of the great masters, we must moderate our wishes by remembering that in an extensive collection this is for many reasons impossible. The numerous plans, sections and elevations of remarkable buildings, although they are often on a small scale, are very interesting. It

that country, residing chiefly at Rome, where he died in the year 1814. During thirty-six years he enjoyed and most diligently availed himself of every opportunity of investigating the remains of antiquity that are found in Italy, and laboured with singular zeal and industry in the composition of his *History of Art*. He had published some numbers, when the Revolution deprived him of the greater part of his property; and the long and cruel wars that were caused by anarchy and despotism, threatened to bury learning for ever under the ruins of the social fabric, and checked still more rudely the cultivation of the fine arts. The publication of the remainder was retarded by various causes, which it is unnecessary to state, and it has but lately been completed. Although the laborious and anxious duties of editors have been well performed by MM. Dufourny, Emeric David, L. Feüillet, Gence and de la Salle, in their respective departments, it would be an ill compliment to the author not to regret that he did not live to superintend the impression of his work; the ingenious editors must have felt that certain further elucidations are sometimes wanting, which no one but the venerable historian himself could supply.

After a preface and a preliminary discourse, according to the practice of the writers of all countries, the author adopts the custom of France, and sets forth at some length a historical sketch of the political and civil state of Greece and Italy, from the first epoch of the decline of art to that of its complete restoration. The twenty-eight chapters, consisting of the history of the world from Constantine to Leo X., would form, as M. d'Agincourt well observes, a separate work; and we confess we wish that he had made the separation in fact which he could in idea. We are well aware, however, that every composition that sees the light at Paris would be born in vain, whatever might be its subject, if it were not preceded by a *Tableau Historique;* and we will not blame the historian of Art for being a Frenchman, and faithfully obeying the law of his country. He has done what we verily believe he thought was quite indispensable, and we must acknowledge, that although most of his readers could repeat the historical facts, "*suivant l'ordre des temps et des lieux*," he has interspersed so much matter that concerns the proper subject of his valuable work, especially in the notes, that a great deal of curious information may be gleaned by rapidly skimming over the rapid sketch. The body of the work demands a more attentive perusal; the *History of Art* deserves, and will repay, a careful and deliberate examination.

The author treats of a period of twelve centuries, from the fourth to the sixteenth, and, that we may understand his method, it

is more easy to judge of the general effect of an edifice from these miniatures than of a painting. Many curious architectural specimens are brought together within the compass of one plate, which facilitates comparison; but as the size of the plate augments the cost, similar representations might be given in a more economical manner in a work of much smaller dimensions. A collection of ample materials for forming the taste and exercising the judgment would be a valuable manual to a person who sought to enter into an enlarged study of architecture. The elementary writers on that art generally imagine that they discharge their duty by giving specimens of the five orders from those buildings which are supposed to furnish the most approved models, together with a few details and two or three ancient temples, and with the latter their illustrations terminate. The task of collecting views of so many buildings must have been troublesome and expensive, and would demand a long time and great activity. Of his great care to obtain accurate drawings, M. d'Agincourt thus speaks. After returning thanks by name to many architects from his own country, with whom he had been acquainted whilst they were studying in Italy, he continues:—

"As a recompense for the interest which they had always found me take in their studies during my long residence in Italy, they have always had the kindness, when they discovered in their travels any monuments which they thought would be of use in my undertaking, to make drawings of them for me, or to verify the accuracy of those which I already possessed and had communicated to them. These careful verifications have been the more useful, because the monuments of the period of the decline of the arts, that had been published before my time by other authors, are often very negligently drawn, and it is not with these buildings as with those of a better age, where one part is always like its corresponding part; the irregularity and extravagances of those of which I treat impose upon the artist the necessity of seizing all the details, and upon the historian that of mentioning all their peculiarities"

The History, as we before observed, is divided into three parts. The first part, or Historical Discourse, as it is termed, treats of Architecture, and the subject is again sub-divided into three distinct heads; in the first of which the author, having pourtrayed the condition of the art at the beginning of the period of which he writes, in a short introduction, describes its gradual decline and decay; under the second head he relates the story of its revival, of the second infancy of the art; the third head comprehends the narrative of its complete restoration. The next part is given to Sculpture, which is handled in a manner precisely similar, under the same three-fold division. Painting occupies the last part, and it is divided and explained exactly like the two former arts.

In each part, and in every sub-division of each part, he steadily pursues his favourite method. He narrates the history of art *by means of* works of art. If the principles he lays down are not always derived from a careful induction of particular instances, they are at least always illustrated by examples. He has of course selected such specimens as favour his own views. In order that we may finally be led to just conclusions, we must hope that others of equal zeal and ability will be excited by this illustrious example to publish other selections, that by sedulous and patient comparison we may arrive at the truth, or rather, speaking with that humility which befits mortals, may approximate towards it. If we are hardly permitted to attain to certainty in any department of knowledge, such a consummation is least to be expected in matters of taste, which are proverbially uncertain and indefinite. The third volume consists entirely of an explanation of the plates, in which however much interesting and instructive matter is brought before us.

We think it our duty to point out such defects as have occurred to us, and we feel ourselves bound, in the honest exercise of our critical office, to do so the rather because on many accounts we take considerable interest in the present work; and we are afraid therefore to suffer ourselves, or our readers, to be deceived by our gratitude and respect towards the memory of a most meritorious benefactor of the Fine Arts, of a liberal contributor to one of the most fertile sources of human enjoyment. These defects are of small import, but it is fit nevertheless that they should be pointed out. We have already mentioned that the figures are sometimes too minute; an opposite fault might be found in the inconvenient magnitude of the volumes; and although we will readily concede that a large expanse of paper is often required for the plates, we think the letter-press would have been more accessible in a smaller form. The luxury of typography is doubtless striking, but it interferes with the quiet privacy of attentive study. A new novel, perhaps, would lose its interest if it were printed with the largest and most beautiful types of M. Didot, upon the scale of an Atlas.

A distinguished anatomist of Germany begins a chapter of a work, in which he describes very scientifically the structure of the human body, with these words:—

"This important organ"—he speaks of the nose—"occupies a conspicuous position on the human face, of which it is a prominent feature, being situated in most subjects immediately below the forehead, between the eyes and above the mouth."

It is evident that this kind of writing would be very instructive to a person who does not know where his nose is, and who cannot

devise a more ready manner of finding it; but others may, perhaps, conveniently postpone it to books treating of matters that are equally true, but less obvious. M. d'Agincourt, in like manner, forgetting that it is necessary to assume that his reader is acquainted with something besides his letters, favours us occasionally with such passages as the following:—

"The productions of the arts of design, architecture, sculpture and painting, consist of objects sensible to the sight, under forms peculiar to each of them, and the effect of which only reaches the understanding through that organ."

This fault is that of the times, and more particularly that of his nation; his countrymen conceive that they are logical, philosophical, and so forth, when they gravely put forth flat, stale, meagre, jejune, stupid truisms; it is the same error as if a host sought to show his extraordinary hospitality by placing before his guests a first course of vacant dishes and empty bottles. Our author, however, rarely offends thus; his table is usually loaded with a profusion of choice viands, and his liquors are excellent and abundant. Nor does he often annoy us by another national vice, which is far more offensive, by a display of frigid sentimentality clothed in the tawdry trappings of false eloquence. We have selected one sample, which, through a filial reverence for our mother-tongue, we forbear to translate.

"Voilà ce que Rome inspire! Eh! que n'inspire-t-elle pas, cette ville toujours éloquente? Quel est celui qui, à l'aspect de ses monumens, ne se sente l'âme profondément émue, ou le génie vivement enflammé? Je les y ai vus, je les y ai entendus, au milieu des ombres de leurs antiques prédécesseurs, ces modernes maîtres du monde, ce Joseph II. qui aurait voulu le remplir de son nom, ce Gustave III. digne d'un meilleur sort; ces savans meditatifs, ces poëtes à l'ame brûlante, Herder interrogeant la divinité dans ses temples superbes, Dolomieu expliquant les crises de la nature sur le théâtre même de ses convulsions, Goethe nourrissant sa verve originale des grands souvenirs de l'antiquitè. Recemment encore j'y fus témoin des rêveries touchantes d'un génie ouvert à toutes les grandes impressions philosophiques et religieuses, de Châteaubriand, cherchant un aliment à sa vive imagination au milieu des décombres du palais des Césars, et dans la poussière sacrée des anciennes basiliques."

These bursts of eloquence, however, are of rare occurrence, and the history is usually written with plainness, sobriety, and good sense. We find in it the peculiar defects of a Frenchman, but we find also that ability, which has given a great preponderance throughout Europe to his nation and language.

The instruction and information that are conveyed in an elementary work, must necessarily be somewhat superficial, but they are on that account more valuable to a student; and the writer,

who would embrace a subject of vast extent, must content himself with treating parts of it imperfectly. The notices of works of art, notwithstanding the quantity of matter comprised in the huge volumes of M. d'Agincourt, frequently err through brevity. His observations concerning the arts of Greece would have been more valuable, had his knowledge of Greek been more profound than certain inaccuracies we have occasionally observed will allow us to believe it to have been.

Having spoken according to our promise, with freedom and candour, of the defects of the work, we proceed to give some account of each of the three great divisions of the entire subject. The narrow limits to which we are confined must be our excuse for the omission of many important topics, and for the scanty and inadequate consideration that is given to those which we mention.

I. The first part is devoted to ARCHITECTURE, to which all that remains of the first volume after the prefatory and historical matter, and seventy-three plates, are assigned.

We think that M. d'Agincourt has done the most in this department, for although he has effected a great deal for a single individual in the other two branches, yet so many researches must still be made, and so much remains to be discovered, that, without detracting in any degree from the credit that is justly due to him, we may say that we look forward with confidence, and even with some impatience, for the additions, which the prosecution of similar investigations by others, will undoubtedly supply. The various structure of edifices of different ages and countries is explained with remarkable perspicuity and felicity; the view of the subject under consideration is never unnecessarily impeded by a pedantic accumulation of technical terms. "The terminology of Kant," says one of his countrymen, "is a barbarism; it is writing philosophy in cypher;" and the censure might be applied to some amongst ourselves, who have the barbarism of the German philosopher without his learning. The Historian of Art, however, is not only exempt from this vice, but he rarely uses even the recognized terms of art, unless a more familiar expression, will not fully convey his meaning. Having exhibited a few specimens of the ancient Architecture in its utmost perfection, and shown that in that art, as in others, the more attentively we study the remains of a wise antiquity, the more shall we be astonished at the good taste and skill that are displayed; and that to attain to the full comprehension of their merit the mind must be invigorated by a wholesome discipline; "*robustæ mentis esse solidam sapientiam sustinere;*" he proceeds to unfold, by a series of well chosen examples, the architectural history of the twelve centuries his work embraces. It is not to

intercolumniation, and, in consequence of the superior strength, of greater lightness, but at the expense of simplicity.

The pointed arch, which may be termed the specific difference of the Gothic species, of course receives much attention; the earliest specimens he has been able to collect are brought from churches that are either entirely, or in part, underground, being built on the sides of hills. It is possible, but the observation does not occur to this acute critic, that the form was chosen, because it throws off the weight of superincumbent earth or rock, from the centre, and the water also, which perhaps is of more importance; on this account it might deserve to be adopted in our cellars and other subterranean structures, instead of the semicircular arches that are at present used. There is some difference of opinion as to the relative strength of the semicircular and pointed arches, but the weight of authority is decidedly in favour of the latter. The erection of the beautiful Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, by Justinian, first proved that a cupola may be raised upon a square base, and furnished many hints of which architects afterwards availed themselves in the construction of Gothic temples. The miracles of Grecian architecture were effected by means of a few very large stones; when the Romans imitated the Greeks they used similar materials, but in their most national, peculiar, and characteristic works, they employed small stones, or more commonly bricks. The Romans possessed an entire and most masterly command over bricks, as many stupendous remains testify. The artists, who adopted or invented the Gothic style, used small stones also, and have left us many specimens of wonderfully solid building. The stones were selected with the utmost care for the more important parts, hard, solid, and free from flaws; they were fitted together with extreme accuracy, and much attention was paid to the composition of the mortar. In consequence of the goodness of the materials and the workmanship, and of the enormous pressure, the pillars and arches frequently ring like a bell when they are struck. On account of the sound, and a certain remarkable elasticity, it is difficult to believe that the vibrating body is not a surface of metal, but merely an assemblage of small and often not very hard stones laid in mortar, like the walls of our houses. This perfection of construction alone proves that we might learn much from ages which we are apt hastily to condemn in the mass as entirely barbarous.

We sometimes try to picture to ourselves the wonder and delight with which the less prejudiced architects of Greece and Rome would inspect the most perfect specimens of the Gothic style that our cathedrals supply: their penetrating minds would doubtless discover the principles of construction, which escape

be dissembled that the task is arduous: Dr. Moller observes, "As far as it is possible to judge from these plates, which are on a very small scale, and admitting, what however still requires proof, that the delineated buildings are really the original churches erected by the Lombards, &c." the history certainly has this grand difficulty to contend with, (and it is beset by many others,) that amongst the successive reparations, additions, and alterations, it is not easy to assign accurately the date of the existing building, or of any part of it; nevertheless, absolute certainty being unattainable, we ought gratefully to receive such conjectures as a learned experience shall deem probable. As it is impossible to decide the age of a MS., within a few centuries, from the form of the letters, and the other criteria which diplomatists have established, so is it from the style to fix with precision the epoch at which an edifice was erected.

In the history of the Architecture of the middle ages, an honourable place must necessarily be assigned to the Gothic, the most enthusiastic admirers of which have not hesitated to affirm, that the Greeks and Romans were only the precursors who prepared the way for this more glorious style; that the columns of the former and the arches of the latter were the elements out of which, with a large admixture of other and peculiar artifices, this sumptuous manner of building was compounded. They declare that this system has adopted and made a part of itself whatever merits the ancient edifices possessed, and has superadded a prodigious richness, a native grace, and an inexhaustible variety. They assert in praise of a favourite style, perhaps somewhat imprudently, much that we cannot accept and will not repeat; nevertheless, we are by no means inclined to deny its intrinsic excellence, or to undervalue the aids that M. d'Agincourt has contributed towards the investigation of an obscure and difficult subject. It seems that we are not permitted to discover the origin of things, but the vain pursuit is eminently engaging. He remarks that the architectural decorations painted on the walls in Herculaneum and Pompeii, in respect of lightness and in the variety and abundance of fantastic ornaments, have some slight resemblance to the Gothic style: we cannot admit however, that they exhibit any traces of declining art. He might have added, that by an attentive observation of the remains of antiquity we may discover other points of likeness. We find the form of the buttresses and some other resources of this style, to name one instance only, in the ground plan of the baths of Diocletian, as delineated by Desgodetz. He illustrates carefully the gradual substitution of the arch for the entablature, which admitted wider

the observation and exceed the comprehension of modern visitors. The hardness of marble is so great, that we are not surprised to find Gothic buildings executed in that material firm and lasting, but the softer substance, free stone, which is more commonly used, does not seem to promise sufficient strength and consistence to bear the enormous strain and immense pressure, to which it is frequently subjected. The contrivances for locking the different parts together, and the various resources for giving firmness, unity, and solidity, are curious and almost infinite; and more resemble the endless artifices of nature displayed in the structure of animals, than the limited and monotonous routine of human art. In all respects, indeed, the Gothic architecture reminds us rather of the unceasing variety and unwearied luxuriance of nature, than of works of art; consequently it is very difficult to classify and arrange the specimens, such is their complexity and delicacy, and so minute the gradation through which the one species melts almost insensibly into the other: it is not impossible however, for, except some trifling imperfections, the nice observation and spirit of order of Linnæus have reduced vegetables to a satisfactory and intelligible system, and a similar classification has been effected in every province of the three great kingdoms of nature. We may borrow an illustration, and a very commodious system of arrangement, from the science of comparative anatomy: we usually find the same parts in all the animals of the higher ranks; in some a given organ is fully developed, in others it is exaggerated, in others it is barely indicated, being useless and unimportant, whilst in a few it disappears and is altogether wanting. The beautiful, lofty and most transparent cathedral of *Notre Dame*, at Paris, for example, wants that remarkable member, the central tower, but we see the four massive buttresses, on which it might have been erected; and the transept, although in many respects it seems to assert its dignity, falls very far short of its ordinary and characteristic importance. Some cathedral, of which the organization is complete in all its parts, ought to be assumed as the standard; as the comparative anatomist takes man as the most perfect animal, and points out in what respects the various tribes deviate in structure,—the form, functions and position of the different organs in the human prototype having been first fully described. M. d'Agincourt has furnished the means of instituting the comparison, and of commencing this delightful and instructive study.

The propriety of the term *Gothic*, which has long been applied to this style, and is almost universally received, has given occasion to many unimportant discussions. Some writers have taught, that the Goths and other Germanic tribes were savages,

like those who subsist by the chase in North America; Frederick Schlegel and others maintain, with patriotic zeal, that they have never been in that wild state during any period since we have had accounts of them. M. d'Agincourt is not by any means satisfied with the name Gothic, but he maintains the civility of the Goths, at the time they invaded Italy, with much ability and success; and strives to make gentlemen of the Germans of old so strenuously, that he ought to satisfy even those of their descendants, who are the most punctilious concerning the character and good behaviour of their ancestors. Nor is he less patriotic; for he affirms, that the Norman Architecture is the appellation by which this style is generally known in England, where the introduction of it is attributed to the conquerors: in this respect he is entirely mistaken, for it is universally termed Gothic here, except by a very few persons, who seek to distinguish themselves by the affectation of unusual words, and who would therefore adopt the name Gothic, if it should be ordinarily called Norman. He rejects at once, as utterly unfounded, the title Saracenic, which has sometimes been proposed. It is evident that he is inclined to forge a new designation: when we find such a name as *anti-Greek* or *anti-Roman* offered as a substitute for Gothic, we are disposed piously to return thanks that Adam was not a Frenchman. This ingenious people are singularly unlucky in the difficult and delicate task of naming, and unhappily they imagine that they possess the very rare faculty, and they exercise it licentiously and unsparingly. The name Gothic has been adopted almost universally; in all ages, we fear, a few unhappy persons will be afflicted by that incurable and very disfiguring disease, a mania for innovation; and these passages, "miro opere Gothica manu;—miro opere per manum Gothicam;—miro opere constructa ab artificibus Gothicis," which are cited by Gori from ancient chronicles, prove that the style received its present name very early. By selecting specimens well, a *primâ facie* case may be made out in favour of almost any theory that is designed to account for its origin; and by choosing others judiciously it may be successfully answered, and another, wearing equal plausibility, may be substituted. The Germans have not been idle in enriching with paradox and mystery a subject in itself very obscure, especially as they lay claim to the invention of the style. We have been so often captivated by the ingenuity which they have displayed in creating theories, and in the novelty of them, that we have felt ourselves bound in gratitude to make them the only compensation in our power, by supposing that they do not themselves believe one word of what they so confidently assert, and apparently demonstrate with so much solidity.

Whatever doubts may exist as to the origin of the Gothic style, it is impossible to question its prodigious merits. Although we have had the advantage of viewing the remains of other schools, we are deeply penetrated by the merit of that which had the power of raising structures that are able to affect with a sentiment of religious awe, not only the apathy of boorish ignorance, but even that apathy which is the result of long accumulated erudite experience, and of exquisite and recondite learning.

We will cite the words of an imaginative writer respecting this view of the present subject.

"As to that style of Christian architecture which is characterized by its lofty vaults and arches, its pillars, that have the appearance of being formed out of bundles of reeds, its profusion of ornament, its flowers and leaves; and which is in all these respects essentially distinguished from that older Christian architecture, the first and best model of which is to be found in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople; I am rather of their opinion who conceive that this system of architecture was perfected and diffused over all Europe by a small society of artists, who were very closely connected with each other.

"But whoever might be the builders, this much is certain, that they were not mere heapers together of stones, but they all had thoughts, which they meant to embody in their labours. Let a building be ever so beautiful, if it be destitute of meaning, it cannot belong to the fine arts. The proper display of purpose, the immediate expression of feeling, are indeed denied to this eldest and most sublime of all the arts. It must excite the feelings through the medium of thought; but perhaps the feelings which it does excite are on that account only so much the more powerful. All architecture is symbolical, but none so much so as the Christian architecture of the middle ages. The first and greatest of its objects is to express the elevation of holy thoughts, the loftiness of meditation set free from earth, and proceeding unfettered to the heavens. It is this which stamps itself at once on the spirit of the beholder, however little he may himself be capable of analysing his feelings when he gazes on those far-stretching columns and airy domes. But this is not all; every part of the structure is as symbolical as the whole, and of this we can perceive many traces in all the writings of the times. The altar is directed towards the rising of the sun, and the three great entrances are meant to express the conflux of worshippers from all the regions of the earth. Three towers express the Christian mystery of the triune god-head; the choir rises, like a temple within a temple, with redoubled loftiness; the shape of the cross is in common with the Christian churches even of the earlier times. The round arch was adopted in the earlier Christian architecture, but laid aside on account of the superior gracefulness supposed to result from the crossing of arches. The rose is the essential part of all the ornaments of this architecture; even the shape of the windows, doors, and towers, may be traced to it, as well as the accompanying

decorations of flowers and leaves. When we view the whole structure, from the crypt to the choir, it is impossible to resist the idea of earthly death leading only to the fulness, the freedom, and the solemn glories of eternity."

If this passage be somewhat fanciful, it is at least eloquent and ingenious, and it is certainly in the German taste. It is impossible to doubt that the higher works of art, in all countries and in all times, were essentially religious. It is necessary, therefore, in order fully to comprehend them, to seize the spirit of the age in which they were produced. It is not easy at the present day to acquire the feelings that animated the painters of Italy in the time of Leo X., still less to enter into the state of mind of the artists who constructed the marvellous cathedrals of the middle ages; it is impossible to feel as the architect felt who designed the Pantheon at Rome; and perhaps even more so to call back precisely the same sentiments of devotion that inspired him who built the Parthenon, or the author of the Temple of Neptune at Pæstum. To invent like Phidias, the soul must be filled with the same impressions as those out of which he selected and composed his unrivalled works, hence is the attempt hopeless: Time will not stand still, much less can we persuade him to retrace his steps and to return to that point of his journey which we desire to revisit.

The mixture of jest with earnestness is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the literature of the middle ages, and of the manners of the Teutonic races; it is certainly a striking distinction of the Gothic architecture. We commonly find in the details various samples of the ludicrous, the general effect of the whole edifice being serious, and eminently solemn and impressive. Whenever we examine the ornaments closely, we shall find ridiculous scenes and characters, and a number of grotesque representations, reminding us of the tragedies of Shakspeare, which, if they resemble the productions of nature in many other respects, are not less similar to them in this also, that in the great drama of human life we always find joy and sorrow near together, and often almost in contact. The character and expression of these ludicrous representations are very peculiar, and some of them have been copied with great fidelity, (as for instance, those in the cathedral of York by Halfpenny,) but no one has afforded a satisfactory explanation of the object of the comedy. It has been conjectured, with apparent probability, that the figures allude to stories that were well known at the time when they were executed, and that by bringing them together and comparing them with whatever information the writings of the day will afford, the whole subject might be made intelligible. They

frequently contain satires on the clergy, especially the monks and nuns; but as the architects were often ecclesiastics, as the building was carried on under their superintendence, and as they were always the paymasters, we cannot suppose the sculptors would incur the hazard of offending their employers and patrons by irritating strokes of ill-judged satire. We may believe, therefore, that these visible railleries were executed with the knowledge and approbation of the clergy, that they had the good humour and liberality to expose and to deride their own infirmities, and that they were convinced their authority was so firmly established that no danger was to be apprehended from the exposure. The most frequent subjects of these ludicrous representations, however, are demons. It was natural enough that the churchmen should hold up to scorn and derision their grand adversaries, the spiritual enemies of the human race; that these beings should be gibbeted on the roof, exposed to the wind, the rain, and the frost, impaled in conspicuous situations, bound captive at convenient posts, distorted into painful attitudes, and jammed and miserably crushed by the enormous pressure of arches and columns; that they should be represented in pain, ugly, and therefore odious, and rendered ridiculous, that they might be despised: all this is in accordance with the dictates of hostility and revenge. There is a certain generosity, however, and a magnanimity not unworthy of the age, (it was an age of chivalry,) in representing their vanquished foes in the only state that could conciliate a kind of sympathy; in the midst of their monstrous ugliness there is a laughing indifference, an air of high, disdainful, unconquerable scorn, that seems to make light of their misfortunes, and was essential to the notion then entertained of the character of demons, that commands respect; for a being that endures calamity bravely awakens a fellow feeling in man, who knows that it is his lot to suffer. The whole of the sacred edifice often swarms with life; besides the jocular designs, serious representations abound everywhere; innumerable niches line the walls both within and without, and each is the shrine of a Christian hero: it seems probable that some fixed plan was observed in the arrangement, that every part was the effect of design, that every image had its story. The veneration bestowed on martyrs was a new and an impressive sentiment; in these ages there was a deep feeling of reverence for the most venerable of all objects before which the human mind can bow down, a man, who has suffered persecution and punishment, even death itself, rather than renounce the faith which he conscientiously holds. He who can contemplate, without interest and emotion, these figures of the victims of human violence and injustice, and of their own

noble constancy and courage, which were once the objects of universal homage, is an object truly to be pitied.

The art of designing and executing Gothic edifices has been totally lost; modern structures, although they are the productions of the first architects of the age, who have been sometimes successful in other manners, and have been built with prodigious care and cost, are not only ugly, but they want the distinctive character of the style at which they aim, and are a deformed and mongrel breed, equally removed from that order and every other. Ancient buildings have no doubt been restored very successfully; but these operations have, it must be confessed, commonly penetrated only skin-deep, and have been confined to the renovation of battlements, pinnacles, and ornaments, of which the types also were usually to be found in the same building; the frames and stone work of windows, and other similar matters, which it would be tedious to enumerate; the inspection of the restorations at Westminster and in other churches will explain them more intelligibly than any verbal description. The churches lately erected on the Gothic model have been eminently infelicitous; and if the defects in the halls and castles are less glaring, we have never seen any building of modern date that would entirely satisfy the least fastidious critic, whose taste had been formed by studying the pure and faultless models which the middle ages plentifully supply. The wretched ill-fated objects that testify the total absence of all sense of the Gothic in our builders, have no profile, no projection; they are as unlike the buildings of which they are imitations, the workmanship of better times, as the dry, colourless, shapeless specimen, pressed flat in a *hortus siccus*, is to the living plant.

Many works might be named, in which the principles of Grecian architecture are well explained; but it is not so with the Gothic; it should seem that the present age is ill supplied with men capable of discovering and unfolding principles. We cannot suppose that such wonderful erections as our cathedrals were executed without much reflection and much writing; it is possible, that in the unexplored recesses of the chapter-libraries in some of our cities, not only plans and working drawings of the neighbouring edifice might be found, but treatises mouldering in MS., in which the true principles of construction are distinctly and intelligibly laid down and expounded.

It is probable also, if the best monuments in this style were examined with as much care and accuracy as have lately been bestowed on the Grecian and Roman remains, and by men of ability and education, that the system might be learned, which is doubtless somewhat complex and abstruse; but the effects that are pro-

duced, and the difficulties that are overcome, prove that it is extremely scientific. Many competent judges have decided, that the Gothic architects must have been better skilled in the rules of construction than any of their predecessors.

The Gothic architecture of every century has its peculiarities; in like manner that of every country has its points of difference, but the style has much in common in all ages and in all places, and the comparison of the agreement and disagreement is agreeable and instructive. The style of many of the ancient churches of Germany, that are represented by Dr. Moller, is peculiarly tame, ugly, and feeble; but on the other hand, that country contains many examples of the utmost perfection of the art, several of which are delineated in the work before us. It is a piece of national vanity in M. d'Agincourt, which is pardonable—and moreover a most innocent deceit, for it cannot impose upon any one—to include the stupendous cathedral at Strasburg amongst the French specimens: it is as little the production of Frenchmen as St. Peter's at Rome, St. Peter's at Westminster, or that St. Peter's, which is commonly called the Minster, at York. France comprehends, however, many fine Gothic churches, especially in the north, to which the ingenious author is undeniably entitled, and which he of course represents. He has assembled with exemplary diligence whatever Italy affords that is in any degree connected with this style. He does not give us much information relative to Spain, where the Arabian architects, together with much grace, beauty, and peculiar cheerfulness, have not hesitated to adopt considerable extravagance. For illustrations of the oriental style, and of the Gothic edifices in that country, we must apply therefore to the works of M. de Laborde and Mr. Murphy.* The plans, elevations, sections, and views, which the latter gentleman has published, have already made us acquainted with the chaste and pure composition of the majestic Abbey of Batalha, in the province of Estremadura in Portugal. The present work is most deficient in a department which the English reader can readily supply; he treats scantily and imperfectly of our English cathedrals: it is a proof of the vast extent of the subject, that although so much has been done, so much also has been omitted.

Mr. Cottingham, by a series of rough engravings on stone, has enabled us, as far as the eye can judge for itself, to discover the principles of the florid Gothic, by inspecting the plans, elevations, sections, and details, of King Henry VII's Chapel; but he has not unfolded the doctrines of the artists who executed this

* Laborde, Voyage Pittoresque de l'Espagne, 4 vols. folio, Paris. Murphy's Arabian Antiquities of Spain, 1 vol. folio, London.

remarkable work. The exterior of this highly elaborated building is perhaps less successful in effect, and a less satisfactory result has been produced, than the cost and art of the construction ought to have created; the interior, however, if he were permitted to examine it at his ease, would satisfy the most fastidious critic. Why is it shut up? Why are not the public allowed to enter, and to admire an edifice, on the restoration and reparation of which they have lately, and at a time when they were oppressed by so many and such heavy burthens, expended enormous sums? The guardians have an undoubted right to furnish, at their own cost, as they are well able to do, a careful person to attend constantly and to prevent damage; but so long as the sun is above the horizon they have no right whatever to exclude their fellow-citizens. If the two cathedrals of our metropolis were open to the public, as in reason and justice, and we may add by law also, they ought to be, they would be excellent schools for forming the taste in Roman and Gothic architecture. If the walls of the interior of St. Paul's were painted with lightsome and somewhat gay colours, to overcome, as far as is possible, the darkness, smoke, and fogs; and if something of its ancient ornament were restored to Westminster Abbey, (ample funds are attached to these sacred edifices, a part of which might be thus applied without injury to individuals, and with important benefits to the arts,) immense gratification would be afforded to a very meritorious nation, which, although well provided with the necessaries of life, is certainly not so well supplied with refined enjoyments as it ought to be.

The sense of the beautiful, which is one of the grand distinctions of the human species, may be classed amongst our most valuable possessions; our countrymen have not had fair play; but we are strongly inclined to think, that so far from being deficient in this sense, nature has abundantly gifted them with it, and that culture alone is wanting to lead them to distinction in the arts. Our cathedrals prove that it abounded formerly; and the taste of the English in laying out gardens, and indeed in the whole department of landscape, is peculiarly excellent; that the sentiment of beauty has not been entirely eradicated by the discouragement which it has met with, is of itself a satisfactory proof that it is deeply rooted. Our cathedrals have frequently been restored with judgment and intelligence; but in some instances a venerable pile has been botched in a sordid, illiberal, and ignorant manner. The touching prayer or adjuration of Cardinal Baronius ought to be inscribed in a conspicuous place in every antique edifice. In an ancient church in Rome, dedicated to two martyrs, which the father of ecclesiastical history had repaired, with a profound and

dutiful reverence for the original construction, he caused these remarkable words to be engraved, that they might breathe a like respectful spirit into succeeding incumbents:

Presbiter, Card., successor quisquis fueris,
Rogo te per gloriam Dei et
Per merita horum martyrum,
Nihil demito, nihil minuito, nec mutato;
Restitutam antiquitatem piè servato:
Sic te Deus Martyrum suorum precibus
Semper adjuvet.

We have discoursed somewhat largely of Gothic architecture, because it occupies a considerable portion of M. d'Agincourt's work; and the illustrations of it, which his industry has furnished, are perhaps the most valuable part of that work: to our countrymen, moreover, this style is eminently interesting, since the only native monuments of art that we can boast, are many most admirable specimens of every kind of Gothic structure. Many plates are devoted to the noble productions which the restorers of architecture placed in that country, where the spirit of art almost forms the character of the nation; the 56th plate in the department of architecture proves with how much zeal and industry they studied the precious remains of antiquity; and plates 47, 48, and 49, are alone sufficient to demonstrate their genius, taste, and invention. The edifices of Michael Angelo claim a considerable portion of the whole work: in contemplating the originals themselves, or the engravings of them, we equally feel, that his greatness of style, when exercised on the interior, caused a large building to appear small; we will not presume to decide whether that be a merit or a defect: in the inside of a building the eye rather requires beauty than sublimity. St. Peter's, the grand cathedral of the diocese of Rome, receives its due share of attention. Would it not have been better if the close porticos, (or corridors,) which lead to St. Peter's on both sides, had been parallel and at right angles to the front; at present the ends that are farthest from the building approach,—is not this a deformity? would it not be better, if it were possible, to pull them open, till they were as distant as the two ends that join the church, and to remove therefore the open and round portico so far to the right and left as would be required to admit of this arrangement? what was the motive of the architect for placing them obliquely? was it that the visitor might catch occasional glimpses of the church through the open windows, and does this advantage compensate for the defect, if such in truth it be? This objection occurred to us on the spot, and plate 61 brought it to our recollection; we would gladly see the proposed alteration represented in a large

drawing, all other changes being made that symmetry might demand, in order to estimate the effect of it.

Baptism is performed in this country on very young children, and is considered as a matter of course even by the most scrupulously pious; we are apt to forget therefore the importance of the institution, that it distinguished the Christian from the Pagan, was often preceded by a difficult conversion, and exposed the person who underwent it to many hazards. Having accustomed ourselves to forget the dignity of the initiatory rite, we consequently possess no buildings analogous to those magnificent edifices which, under the name of Baptisteries, are frequent in Italy, —churches dedicated to St. John the Baptist, usually of a circular form; they will perhaps appear to be disproportionate to the purpose for which they are used, unless we permit our imaginations to go back to the times of the first establishment of Christianity. In most of the principal cities of Italy there is a beautiful baptistery, on which all the decorations of architecture have been profusely lavished; there only is that sacrament administered, and all the infants who receive it must be brought thither, as a practical admonition, it is said, of the value of the benefit that is conferred. Of these sacred structures M. d'Agincourt has presented some elegant examples.

He has supplied several instances also of that agreeable and useful building, the cloisters,—they abound in Italy; we have some specimens in England, but not so many as we could desire, and the far greater part of those we have are shut up.

The *History of Architecture* includes several structures of great singularity, two or three of the most remarkable of which we shall mention. Plate 55 exhibits the remains of a theatre, forming part of a monastery at Velletri, near Rome; it was erected in the fifteenth century. The front of the scene reminds us of the ancient theatres, which it also resembles in being in the open air; it was used for the representation of the sacred dramas, which, under the name of Mysteries and Moralities, were a favourite recreation in the middle ages. Plate 18 shows us a church near Ravenna, now called from its form *S. Maria della Rotonda*, which is commonly supposed to have been the tomb of Theodoric; the roof consists of one enormous round stone hollowed into a bowl, which being turned down forms a cupola; the stone is 36 feet in diameter, and about 10 in height; this monument surpasses the marvels of Egypt, and deserves to be enumerated among the wonders of the world. Plate 23 is very interesting; it also represents a church at Ravenna, which is remarkable on account of its roof, although on a very different account. The cupola of the beautiful church of St. Vitalis, of which the span appears to be between 50 and

60 feet, is composed entirely of jars of earthenware arranged in a spiral with much ingenuity; it is not easy to describe in words the peculiar construction, which combines lightness with strength; the building is as entire in the present day as it was when the architect had just done his last office to it in the time of Justinian. Plate 71 supplies many examples of the use of similar vessels in important erections by the ancients; the advantages to be derived from this application of pottery seem to be obvious, and the practice deserves attention; indeed, M. d'Agincourt informs us that several French architects had lately employed it with success. The tax levied on bricks in England, and the numerous and inconvenient regulations by which it is secured, are formidable, perhaps insuperable, impediments to the attainment of excellence in the manufacture and application of these materials, and would probably be obstacles to the revival of this usage of antiquity.

At the conclusion of the portion devoted to architecture we find a curious table, which the author has composed, indicating the number of churches that were built at Rome from the commencement of the Christian era to his own time; the total comprehends 303; the sixteenth century is the richest, for it boasts 93; the tenth century has 1 only, and is the poorest, except the first century, which presents a dreary blank; to the second, 2 are assigned; to the eighteenth, 7; it is a curious speculation how many the nineteenth will add to the list. A work containing engravings of all of them, and a short account of the authorities for ascribing to each its date, would be in itself a most interesting history of architecture from its monuments. We lament that M. d'Agincourt has not given us even the names of the several churches, and that we are often compelled thereby to guess at his meaning; we presume that he assigns an earlier date than the vulgar era to the finest of them all, the Pantheon, as he has not ascribed a single church to the first century.

II. We quit with reluctance the department of Architecture, which has detained us longer than we had intended, and proceed to the second part of the History, which treats of SCULPTURE, under the usual threefold division. The treatise on Sculpture is the shortest and the least valuable portion of the work, and seems to be that department of art with which the author was least familiar; he meekly bows his head before the great Winckelmann, and acknowledges that he is unable to add any thing to that distinguished critic's illustrations of the majesty of antiquity. The investigations of M. d'Agincourt as to its condition in the middle ages have been less extensive or less successful than with respect to architecture and painting, and the graphic illustrations of them are confined to forty-eight plates. Eight of these present

an accurate and faithful representation of the great bronze doors of the church of St. Paul without the walls of Rome, which were cast at Constantinople in the time of William the Conqueror; they are covered with sacred subjects and inscriptions, inlaid with silver; a laborious and costly operation, but there is nothing of Byzantine superiority in the workmanship. It is probable, that they would have been executed nearly as well in London in those days. The figures are hardly, if at all, superior to those of the famous piece of needlework, in which Matilda, the Conqueror's queen, embroidered the fortunes of her husband. We cannot doubt, however, that the best artists of the East must have been superior to those of the West at that period; it is the good critic, however, who insures the excellence of the artist, and we may suppose, that as Hildebrand was no great judge of art, the Byzantines contrived to cheat the Pope. The least honourable trait of the religion of the venerable Greek church was its frequent addiction to the extravagances of the Iconoclasts, which has no doubt thinned the monuments of sculpture: the Byzantines, however, are not responsible for the sweeping destruction of statues that was perpetrated in their city, A.D. 1204; the avarice of their barbarous Latin conquerors, and not domestic superstition, anticipated the brutal ravages of the Turks.

M. D'Agincourt has deduced some information and many examples of the sculpture of the middle ages, from the *diptychs*, of which several are preserved in various museums; the posthumous work of the learned Gori, entitled "*Thesaurus Veterum Diptychorum*," however, had already exhausted the subject. A diptych, (that we may not enter into a vast mass of erudition, by which the matter has been illustrated, or obscured,) is a little book, or small tablets of box or other wood, or of ivory, which at first consuls, on being elected, used to present to men of rank and to their private friends, afterwards other civil magistrates, and in process of time ecclesiastical also, containing the names of the magistrates for the year and similar memoranda, embellished with carving, painting, and gilding, according to the magnificence of the giver, or the rank of the receiver. This custom has perhaps been retained and is still continued by sending at the close of the year a pocket-book as a present, which often contains an almanack for the following year. This couplet is the poesy inscribed in one that was presented by a consul to the senate:—

τουτὶ τὸ δῶρον τῇ σοφῇ γερουσίᾳ
ὕπατος ὑπάρχων προσφέρω Φιλόξενος.

The diptych represents the consul on horseback, or clothed in his robes of state, and seated in his curule chair—or it shows the

different games of the circus, or types, symbols, and allegorical figures; sometimes it is anonymous, and contains nothing but carving; no letters, not even the name of the consul: occasionally it is not only ornamented within and without, but enclosed in a splendid case. When Christianity became the prevailing religion, bishops took the place of consuls, and we see Christian symbols and heroes, prophets, apostles, saints, and martyrs, but chiefly and especially our Lady; or scenes taken from the Scriptures, or the Lives of the Saints: a pious aspiration was sometimes added, as, "*Sancte Laurenti, propitius esto mihi miserrimo peccatori!*" which is inscribed under a figure of St. Laurence. The death, or the falling asleep, as it is respectfully termed, ἡ κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου, is a favourite subject, those words being written above. In later times, and in a few instances, hunting, hawking, masques, tilting, and other sports were introduced. When it was composed of three pieces, or tablets, it was called a *triptych*. The diptych, or triptych, was often placed upon the altar, and it is the origin of the altarpiece, as well as of the pocket-book, two very different inventions being derived from the same source. An altarpiece, with its two wings, two smaller paintings, turning upon hinges and shut to defend the picture from dust, from the sun and from other injuries, but not locked or fastened, (as the hand that has opened many in silent and solitary churches, and with grateful piety, when the painting was examined, has closed them again, thankfully testifies,) so that a liberal curiosity may be gratified at all times, often boasts the work of a great master, and on a larger scale retains the precise form of the ancient triptych.

M. D'Agincourt has drawn some specimens of sculpture from sepulchral monuments, but his field of observation, it should seem, was not very extensive; they are, for the most part, taken from Rome, where, as he remarks, ancient bas-reliefs were often pressed into the service, and after some slight alterations, compelled to form part of a more modern tomb. In the sepulchral effigies of the middle ages we often observe a great inequality; extreme stiffness, a want of symmetry, figures disproportionately tall, especially those in drapery; yet notwithstanding these and other defects, the same work will sometimes exhibit much merit, pathos, and truth of expression. The faces commonly seem to be taken from casts made after death; in a statue that was to be placed in any other situation than a church or a cemetery, this melancholy condition of the countenance would be intolerable; there perhaps, a literal copy of the deceased, as he appeared when last seen by his friends, when he was dearest and most observed, may be touching and appropriate, and being seen seldom, and for a short time, the spectacle is not too distressing. Monu-

mental statues often show that the artist had no model of the whole figure, but only of the face and some other parts; they resemble therefore the trunk of a tree carved into the human shape, but still retaining traces of what it originally was. The dresses are often much laboured; it would be easy to obtain the forms of the apparel of the times from monuments, and to learn the entire costume: the fashion of the hair and beard of Edward the Third, in the chapel of St. Edward, in Westminster Abbey, is not unworthy of a Greek patriarch. The monumental sculpture of France is usually superior to that of England, but the latter is sometimes not without merit; the oldest are not unfrequently the best, (although these are comparatively modern,) as the effigy in Gloucester cathedral, which is said to represent Robert Duke of Normandy.

Engraved gems, however beautiful the execution, are less interesting than larger works, for being designed, not for the gratification of the public, but for the use of individuals, there is something private, exclusive, solitary, and selfish in this application of the art of the sculptor; few examples of the display of exquisite talent, within a narrow circle, have been given in the present work.

III. The third and last portion of the *History of Art* is dedicated to PAINTING. To this subject the largest number of plates has been dedicated; they amount to 204, and are illustrated with many valuable and curious descriptions: we lament that we are unable to enter more fully into the examination of the very various matters to which the ingenious author directs our attention. Many of the observations at the commencement of his discourse would serve as a valuable and favourable commentary upon such parts of the Natural History of Pliny as relate to the painters of Greece. He opens his practical illustrations by producing some specimens of the ancient paintings that have been recovered at Herculaneum and Pompeii, the inspection of which will suggest many reflections. Figure 9, in plate 1, is an instance of the modern and most approved practice of grouping the figures in a pyramid; the painters of antiquity commonly arranged them in a row, as in bas-reliefs. We have not seen any thing in the pictures of the ancients, that have hitherto been discovered, to prove that they were acquainted with the famous *di sotto in su*, (as from that favourite kind of it, where the figure is seen from below, the marvellous foreshortening of the Italian school is called); great as their merits are, they may be even superior, in other respects. We will not speak at present of the prodigious spirit and infinite skill in drawing that appear in these ancient designs, on which qualities, and not on the materials that are employed, excellence

depends; nor will we refer to the paintings in the tomb of the family of Naso, or to the other works of antiquity from which examples have been selected. The remarks of M. D'Agincourt, as to the importance of correct drawing, a part of the art of the painter, which unfortunately is often neglected, and especially by his countrymen, are well worthy of the attention of artists and of critics; we will therefore transcribe them.

"O you young artists, to whom Nature has assigned what you call talent; and you, still more fortunate, whom her beneficence has endowed with a poetic imagination, and a feeling heart, allow me to repeat to you this advice—study daily, study incessantly, that fundamental part of your labours, drawing; give yourselves up to this study even to the end of your days. I find at Rome a hundred proofs, in tradition and in monuments, that attest that my immortal countryman, Nicolas Poussin, made drawings, both after nature and the antique, to his very last moments—a painful labour, which is rarely that of a head radiant with glory and covered with hoary locks."

The singular comic or satirical scene delineated in plate 3 deserves notice, because it has never been published before. The fragments were found in the year 1787, in an antique subterranean chamber, situate beneath the beautiful gardens of the Villa Pamphili, that was accidentally discovered in consequence of the falling in of the earth.

We hasten to a topic, which has taken strong hold of the imagination of M. D'Agincourt, and to which he attributes a vast importance: it has drawn forth much learned illustration in other countries, but has hitherto received little attention in England. Protestants have been excluded, perhaps with too much jealousy, from the consideration of certain Christian antiquities, because they have been eagerly pursued at Rome; but as the political impediments to our advancement in the fine arts have happily been removed of late, we may with the less hesitation advert to a source, whence the illustrious author would derive large and valuable assistance. We mean the Catacombs at Rome. It is well known that these are numerous, being situated in different parts of the city, and are of vast and unknown extent. In these catacombs, sepulchral chambers and chapels have been excavated, the roof and walls of which are frequently adorned with paintings; from these works M. D'Agincourt proposes to deduce the history of the art for several centuries. With an ardent zeal, with indefatigable industry, and at considerable expense, he explored these mysterious recesses during several years and at various periods, nor was the enterprize always free from danger, as the following passage proves:—

"A great number of inscriptions enrich the staircase of the church of

St. Agnes without the walls: they have been brought from the catacombs, which extend a great way in the valley around this basilica, and they join others that are very famous, and of which the branches reach as far as the river on the Salarian way. These catacombs had long been closed; I had them opened some years ago in the hopes of finding monuments. My undertaking was unsuccessful, and it exposed me to considerable peril. My guides, who did not know all the turnings in these caverns, were lost, as well as myself, for more than an hour. We had some difficulty in keeping our feeble light and were all very near ending our lives there. The same accident happened before to an artist, my old friend, M. Robert; and my draughtsman, Macchiavelli, when he was alone, was once exposed to the like danger. Montfaucon in his *Diarium Italicum* relates, that a similar accident happened to another Frenchman *and himself*. We got out of this catacomb at last, through one of the openings which served for the purpose of letting down the dead bodies in the first ages of Christianity. This opening is in the middle of the ruins of a monastery, which, if it be not of the same epoch as the churches of St. Agnes and St. Constantia, is not of a much later date."

We have extracted the passage to which our author refers, which relates to the catacombs near the Church of St. Sebastian. Montfaucon (ὁ πάνυ,) says,

"Narrant enim quempiam nobilem, qui cum familia incautè in hæc sese loca conjecerat, nunquam postea comparuisse. Incidi haud ita pridem in schedas cujusdam peregrini Galli, *qui emunctæ naris homo videbatur*, narrabatque se sociosque paucos cum in hos sese obscuros tramites immisissent, horis plus quinque ultro citroque oberrâsse, nec sine discrimine nunquam evadendi, nisi in operas incidissent quæ corpora eruebant."—p. 154.

It appears that Dom Bernard was not a partner in the danger, as M. d'Agincourt has erroneously stated, and as in truth it seemed to be altogether incredible to us; nor did he share in the perilous expedition of his countryman, whose sagacity he praises; the learned Benedictines took too much care of themselves to place unnecessarily a member of the congregation of St. Maur in such jeopardy. If our space would permit us, we would gladly extract all that M. d'Agincourt says on this subject, that, on a matter in which he is so deeply interested, he might have the advantage of speaking for himself; but his observations are long, and are moreover scattered throughout different parts of his work. The following account of one of his researches gives an interesting picture of the last faint traces of humanity which a long and slow decay had left.

"The receptacles were hollowed out for one or more bodies. In that which I opened on the 12th of May, 1780, I found two, the head of one body touched the feet of the other. This position, as well as a slight difference, which I thought I observed in the structure, induced me to believe that these two persons had been a man and a woman.

I could only distinguish, as to the form, some vestiges of the principal bones. The extremities were nothing more than an almost insensible dust; what was left of the bones turned, when touched, into a moist yellow paste of a reddish hue. It would be difficult to form an exact idea of the remains of a human body, reduced to a condition so near to absolute annihilation. A little whitish dust marked the place where the head had been, and showed the bones of the shoulder, of the thigh, the knees, and the ankles; vestiges of this dust still traced, with broken lines, the direction of some of the bones; but it was not a body, it was not a skeleton that we saw, they were vestiges hardly to be distinguished, and at the lightest breath the whole disappeared. The two bodies that I saw in this state had been buried for fourteen or fifteen centuries. That of the woman, or at least that which I took for such, was the least destroyed."

The next passage will prove that the ingenious author was considerably excited by these unusual and mysterious investigations.

"After these testimonies of veneration from men who have themselves merited divine honours, after the affecting descriptions which they have given of the Catacombs, ought I to risk the expression of the sentiments which I have so often felt, whilst wandering through these celebrated places in search of the *monuments* my work required, and sometimes remaining alone, far from my guides, under these dark vaults, where no plant, no bird, no animal, presents the image of life, I found myself seated amongst so many tombs constructed above my head, or hollowed out beneath my feet, or when I traced by the light of a torch those winding passages which presented themselves on all sides to my astonished eye. A vague anxiety at first seized me; my fancy was overwhelmed by the multitude of ideas which religion, history, philosophy offered to me at once; the deep silence that surrounded me gradually restored the calm of my spirits; an agreeable reverie took possession of me, and I enjoyed a repose almost like that of the millions of dead who have slept in these cemeteries for fifteen hundred years. And I also, I said, will sleep here one day with you; but before my dust is laid here, I desire to honour your manes by the brilliant recollections that are attached to the history of the arts, of the arts that have often been indebted for their cultivation and their success to the homage which the faithful have paid to your holy victories."

It is evident that he attaches the reputation of his great work in a peculiar manner to this part of the subject. M. d'Agincourt has given us a portrait of a Roman sexton, or rather to speak the truth, of an anti-sexton, plate 12, fig. 2, and the remark he makes upon the countenance of this old resurrection-man proves how much his visits to the catacombs had exalted his fancy.

"This man, Pietro Luzi, was for more than forty years the guide of the excavators of the Catacombs, and consented to be mine for four or five years in the labyrinth of these astonishing subterraneous caverns.

The peace of his soul imprinted on his countenance, appeared to me to be the sign of the recompense awarded to his long labours in the mansion of eternal happiness."

It is not to be denied that the aspect of Peter Luzi is cheerful and contented, but there are temporal causes that are perhaps sufficient in themselves to account for "*la paix de son âme empreinte dans ses traits:*" there is a society consisting of twenty-four persons, who are entitled "*Cavatori delle Catacombe,*" whose only business is to explore the catacombs when required, and to search for the remains of martyrs. Their duty is very light, and by a whimsical appropriation of a part of the revenue of the Holy See, the fees that are received for dispensations to marry within the prohibited degrees, and for other matrimonial indulgences, are set apart for their maintenance; out of this fund they receive a competent salary, together with their sacristan and the keeper of the catacombs, "*Custode delle Catacombe,*" and a prelate, who is of course well paid for yielding auspices. Peter is a distinguished member of this fraternity, and during a long life has known no other care than the trouble of receiving his stipend and of being in attendance as a spiritual butler, to produce from the proper bin in his vast cellars whatever relics His Holiness may think proper to order.

After patiently inspecting not only the plates which M. d'Agincourt has given us, but those which are well and faithfully engraved in the enormous and most erudite folio of Bosio, and in several other ponderous works, which it is unnecessary to name, and after carefully examining some of the originals at Rome, we must confess that we think the importance of these works in the History of Art has been greatly over-rated: the subjects are few in number, and they are treated vulgarly and unskilfully. The raising of Lazarus is often repeated, he is always represented as a babe in swaddling clothes. We see Moses striking the rock and two children drinking the water that issues; Noah standing in a small tub to denote the ark, whilst the dove flies towards him with the olive branch in her mouth: Jonah swallowed by the whale, and afterwards thrown up again, is a favourite incident, and the throat of the monster is remarkably narrow, as it were to make the miracle greater. We ought not to judge of the state of painting in England at the commencement of the 19th century, of the portraits of Sir Thomas Lawrence and the landscapes of our best artists, from the cuts that adorn the farthing, or even the half-penny editions of the *Death of Cock Robin,* or to estimate the merits of Chantry and the present condition of sculpture from the cherubs' heads garnished with gilded marrow-bones that enliven our country church-yards. Besides, the early Chris-

tians were poor and obscure persons; if we were satisfied as to the authenticity of the works of art that are connected with them, it would still be unfair to measure the ornaments of the wealthy and powerful Pagans by that scale.

It is impossible for any one, who is even moderately sceptical, to be satisfied of the genuineness of works of art that are described in the writings of men of great learning, like Marangoni, but unhappily of great credulity also. When we meet with such a relic as that of which he tells in the 39th chapter of his "*Istoria dell' Antichissimo Oratorio o Capella di S. Lorenzo communemente appellato Sancta Sanctorum*," 4to. *Roma*, 1747, we must acknowledge that the odour of sanctity is too powerful for us; to borrow his own words—"nell' atto di aprire la cassettina, tosto ne uscì da essa un odore così veemente, che quantunque soave, non potea, per la sua veemenza, soffrirsi:" there is no chapter in the entire history of the phenomena of the human mind which we ever read with a stronger and more indescribable feeling than this. The Catacombs at Rome were originally quarries, from which various minerals were extracted; there is no doubt that they are very extensive and of great antiquity. Little labour or art was required to give them the forms of tombs or chapels; the paintings are not very numerous, and, as we before observed, they are rude and inartificial; a few subjects, perhaps twenty or thirty in all, are constantly repeated, and are treated in nearly the same way, but never with moderate ability. These caverns were commonly connected with churches and monasteries, and were used as cemeteries, for which purpose they are well adapted, and as they usually had other entrances, and the galleries often led to a great distance, we may imagine that they were useful to the monks, as they could go in and out of their convents without being observed. Persons who are acquainted with the passages would be able to find their way even in the dark, whilst strangers would be afraid to venture into the unknown labyrinth, the dangers of which the religious, for obvious reasons, would be disposed to magnify, and superstitious terrors would be added to the real hazards. They would be safe retreats in troublesome times, and convenient hiding places for property that was liable to be seized by lawless plunderers. Since there were so many motives to induce the monks to retain possession of them, in addition to the reputation for sanctity which the habit of frequenting such gloomy places would give them with the common people, it is probable that they bestowed upon their walls and roofs many of the barbarous decorations that are still seen there. We must remember, that a thousand years are a long time, and that during that period swarms of monks had abundance of leisure; consequently it is

quite impossible not to regard these compositions with considerable distrust. It is a hasty inference, that the tenant of every tomb in which an empty bottle or other vessel was found was a martyr, and that it was once filled with the blood of the victim, for we know that vessels were placed in tombs in more ancient times, and long before the great cause in which they were supposed to have been suffering witnesses was ripe for trial. Legends of martyrdoms and the exhibition of relics may be of sovereign potency in kindling anew the zeal of the people when it begins to wax cool, but it is not necessary on that account to impose upon the learned in matters that respect only the history of the fine arts. We must also be permitted to doubt, whether the forms of churches were ever derived from the chapels in the Catacombs, or whether the latter are as ancient as they are commonly supposed to be; it is not certain that they were made in times when the Christians, on account of the predominance of the Pagans, were afraid to build churches above ground, for in a superstitious age the supposed advantages of being near the dead, amongst skulls and mouldering bones, in dark and gloomy recesses, would induce men to make subterranean oratories. We find, indeed, crypts and calvaries that were constructed in times and countries when the Pagans were extinguished, and when the true faith was universal. It was usual formerly, and the custom still prevails, to offer prayers and to perform services for the dead, which rites could be performed more efficiently in the opinion of many in the immediate vicinity of their resting-places, and the dismal scenes would well accord with the sentiments and impressions that would be deemed suitable to such offices. Many epitaphs have been transcribed from the Catacombs; like the numerous specimens of this species of composition, which have descended from early times by other channels, they are chiefly remarkable for an extreme simplicity, as "Victoria dormit"—"Porcella hic dormit in pace;" sometimes this simplicity is touching, as Χαῖρε Τύχη, ψυχὴ καλὴ, Τύχη θυγάτηρ. In the following the epitaph *fortissima* seems strange, unless we suppose it to be adequate to our familiar phrase, "a brave girl;" "Faustinæ, virgini fortissimæ, que vixit annos XXI.;" this most resolute virgin died early, the resolution of many lasts much longer.

A sane criticism will teach us to view with suspicion specimens of the arts extracted from the Catacombs at Rome; the specimens, however, are not uninteresting in themselves, and we refer our readers to them, in order that every one may judge for himself. It may sometimes be perilous to estimate the age of Christian antiquities by the style, for it is easy to confound the stiffness

of affected sanctity with the stiffness that arises from the imperfection of art. M. d'Agincourt, however, investigated the Catacombs so completely and with so much diligence and activity, whilst we were able to explore them ourselves in so very limited and unsatisfactory a manner, that it is with extreme diffidence we have ventured to express our opinions on this part of the subject, especially whenever we have been compelled to dissent from his views, and we freely offer them to be corrected by those men of learning who have enjoyed opportunities of forming a larger experience.

It has been conjectured with some probability, that during certain periods in the middle ages an orthodoxy was established, not merely in doctrines, but in art; that it was esteemed heretical and criminal to represent any subjects, except those that were constantly repeated, or to treat them in a new manner, or in positions or arrangements different from those in which they were usually shown; that "*une liturgie pittoresque*" had been sanctioned by custom, and that the pious *virtuosi* of the day commended a painter, not because he was a skilful master, but because he was orthodox: this theory would account for the insipid sameness of the ecclesiastical sculptures and paintings. The same pernicious conformity, however, was not strictly enforced in architecture; so that the necessary and indispensable parts were duly placed in cathedrals, the artist was permitted to indulge his genius; we accordingly find great variety in these edifices, perhaps we may add that fanciful invention seems to luxuriate, and to take holiday as it were, in compensation for the grievous restraints that were imposed on the other branches of art. For several centuries the eldest sister appropriated to herself the portions of the other two, and profusely squandered the property of the family in fantastic and ostentatious, but tasteful, magnificence.

After the decline of painting in the west, the art still maintained a considerable superiority at Constantinople, and was preserved by Greeks, who resided in places that communicated with the capital. We read that a school of Greek painters always subsisted in the city of Otranto, which a channel about forty miles across separates from Greece. M. d'Agincourt has furnished many examples of the productions of Greeks, and of their Italian disciples. The adoption of the monstrous errors of the Iconoclasts is the greatest stain upon the character of a reverend church, to which the learned and pious willingly acknowledge many important obligations. The Greek worship was on the whole favourable to painting. We have seen some Greek pictures of the Panagia full of sentiment; the Virgin is hard-featured, ugly and somewhat old, but as the artist often sought to compose a *Ma-*

donna di San Luca, a portrait of our Lady painted by St. Luke, or at least such a one as he would have painted, and according to the tradition the Virgin was fifty years old, when her likeness was taken by the Evangelist, who was a painter by profession, as well as a physician, it was necessary to represent a female of that age and not a young mother, as in pictures that do not affect extraordinary sanctity and authenticity. The original portrait is commonly plain, but there is a remarkably touching expression in the countenance; the copy aggravates the plainness into ugliness, and the expression is altogether omitted, especially if it be taken by a French artist, upon whom all sentiment is inevitably lost, save the airs of a coquet and the affected simpering of a shepherdess of the opera house. It is not to be denied, however, that many of the old Greek pictures are black, ugly and unmeaning. Nothing can be more frightful, for example, than the engraving of the Virgin and Child in plate 87: it may be a faithful imitation, or the original may possibly have some merits that have escaped the observation of the engraver. We have observed and admired in the works of the oldest masters—"nos in antiquis tabulis illo ipso horrido obsoletoque teneamur"—a stronger and a more affecting expression of sentiment than in the compositions of their successors, in the productions of Pietro Perugino than in those of his disciple Raphael, and when we have examined the originals of the elder painters, and especially of the Greeks of the middle ages, we have been sometimes penetrated by this mute eloquence. But, unfortunately, it is precisely this quality which is the most fugitive and the most difficult to be transferred: through want of skill in the engraver or in the person who made the drawing from the original, it will entirely evaporate, and to render it with fidelity consummate ability is required. When an artist of superior merit copies one of the most ancient pictures of the middle ages, the defects, the stiffness and the other peculiarities forcibly strike his eye, and by rendering them faithfully, or rather by augmenting them a little, a coarse imitation is produced that satisfies the vulgar by its obvious resemblance, whilst through a want of faith in their existence, he is rendered insensible to the refined excellencies which can only be perceived by an intelligent and unprejudiced spectator. We are perhaps less dissatisfied with the old traditional mode of representing religious subjects than with certain modern variations. The attempts of Raphael and other artists in an age of refinement to adapt oriental scenes to the critical and fastidious taste of the west were unsuccessful; if it be necessary to innovate, the extravagancies of Michael Angelo, which at once boldly bid defiance to reason and probability, are more tolerable.

The same observations will apply to the numerous plates which have been deduced from another and a very copious source, for the purpose of illustrating the History of the art of Painting by monuments of art. We refer to the miniatures, the illuminations, Dante would probably call them *alluminations;*

——————— Arte
Ch' alluminare è chiamata in Parisi,

which M. d'Agincourt has extracted with indefatigable industry from Greek and Latin MSS. of the middle ages. His specimens have been principally derived from the unknown treasures of the Vatican Library; with his accustomed courtesy and piety he apologizes for the want of a catalogue of that collection; we will extract his lame and impotent excuse in his own words.

" Still less would I venture to celebrate the riches of the Vatican Library in the department of ecclesiastical manuscripts. It is in that respect, for Christianity, what the Greeks called *panoplia*, a *sacred arsenal.* The key of this depository, an object of reverence, may be ranked among those which the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the guardian of the true faith, holds in his hand. It is doubtless to the respect to which it is entitled, and not to any timid jealousy, that we must attribute the want of a catalogue of this prodigious collection."

The Protestants have affirmed less charitably that the real motive is the unwillingness of the guardian of the true faith to set any limits to the unbounded exercise of forgery and falsification. It is certain that no sovereigns have done so much for the fine arts and for literature as the Popes; gratitude forbids us, therefore, to inquire too narrowly whether new arms may not have been occasionally forged in the sacred arsenal upon an emergency, but we may lament that pious laziness denies to the anxious desires of the learned a complete catalogue of the library of the Vatican.

So many curious topics are connected with these illuminations, many of which were never before published, that many observations suggest themselves to us, but we must produce those only which can be most shortly expressed, not those which appear to be the most important. They are as numerous as the stars, and in the language of the unpublished verse which he has produced the author has made his book as various as another sky;

ὡς ἄλλον ὄντως οὐρανὸν τεύξας βίβλον.

Some works have been too much neglected, others, on the contrary, disproportionately admired; as for example the Vatican Virgil, in which every thing is represented meanly: Dido, for instance, burns herself in plate 24, fig. 2, not on a lofty pile, but like a good housewife, in the most economical manner, by placing

about sixpennyworth of wood under her bed. Yet it is not altogether to be despised; we see the dresses, implements, utensils, &c. that were used in Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries: the simple loom with which Circe is weaving in the back-ground, pl. 25, fig. 1, is curious. In a more modern MS. of the same poem, the soldier, who is sitting and keeping off the rain by placing his shield above his head, whilst Dido and Æneas are snugly sheltered in the cave, plate 64, may perhaps claim the invention of the umbrella. The art of botanical drawing has been much improved, since the specimens given in plate 26 were executed. A biblical scene, inscribed *βουνὸς τῶν ἀκροβυστιῶν*, is represented with more truth than delicacy in plate 29, fig. 3, and a similar subject is rather whimsical than refined, as shown in a mosaic, plate 18, fig. 5. By reversing the painting, the marriage of the Virgin, plate 137, has been made literally a left-handed marriage. Nothing could have helped the transfiguration of St. Francis, for a saint traversing the air in a flying wheelbarrow, with the wheel on fire, cannot but be ridiculous. Plate 119 was taken from a good fresco, which was soon afterwards destroyed by white-washing, as many others have doubtless been. We would gladly learn something more concerning the contents of a Greek MS. of the eleventh century on surgical operations, of which plate 48 contains some curious specimens; and we should above all things desire to know whether it has been ascertained that none of the ancient MSS. which M. d'Agincourt examined were palimpsests, whether they do not contain the lost decads of Livy? M. d'Agincourt deserves at least the thanks of the diplomatist for having added to the science of palæography many alphabets extracted from ancient writings, in some of which the letters luxuriate until they nearly lose all shape and distinguishable form.

In the department of painting, Mosaic is included, an art by which, at the expense of infinite patience, eternal duration is given to a picture: the Romans have been eminently successful in all ages in this difficult and elaborate kind of representation; at first the effect of even the best specimens is unpleasant, but by degrees the eye accustoms itself to it, and learns to regard only the beauties and to forget the grand defect, that the piece has the same appearance, as if it were seen through a sieve.

Engraving has been called "a marvellous invention, to which the productions of the art were indebted for immortality;" M. d'Agincourt adopts the eulogium in its utmost extent, and has devoted some attention to this part of the graphic art. The history of engraving cannot be brought within a narrow compass: the invention of paper made of linen or cotton necessarily preceded the discovery of printing, and was still more indispensable

to engraving. The use of rituals was favourable to the invention of printing; there was perhaps no volume in the ancient world which it was deemed necessary that every person should possess, like a prayer book or missal; the art of engraving received during its infancy similar assistance. We acknowledge the manifold benefits that have been derived from this elegant art; we feel, nevertheless, that much money, time and skill are employed upon engravings, which afford a gratification that is somewhat selfish; prints are hidden in the portfolios of the rich, and when they are framed and exhibited, the exhibition is confined within the walls of a private house, but we must except our printshops, which are spectacles for the public at large.

M. d'Agincourt speaks of some unusual modes of painting, to which we have not leisure to refer at present, and he discourses very fully of the revival of the art by the great masters of Italy, and accompanies his remarks by specimens of their works; as that part of the subject is more generally understood than some others upon which we have enlarged, we pass it over altogether, merely referring those who may desire information to the judicious observations of the author, to the valuable work of Lanzi, whose extraordinary merits are often recognised with due respect by the Historian of Art, and to other popular volumes.

The following passage, in which an old Italian historian of painting endeavours to account for the eminence of the painters of the Florentine school, is not less just than it is interesting for its quaint simplicity.

" In Florence more than elsewhere," says Vasari, " men become perfect in all the arts, especially in that of painting, because in that city men are spurred on by three things. The one is the blame, which many men bestow, oftentimes indeed in order to keep up the fashion of minds that are somewhat negligent by nature, and not to rest contented with works that are only moderate, but always to consider them more for the credit of the good and the beautiful than with respect to the maker. Another is, that in order to live it is necessary to be industrious, that is to say, to exercise continually the genius and the judgment, to be dexterous and ready in business, and to know how to make money, Florence not having an extensive and abundant country that could easily support the expenses of its inhabitants, as where good land is abundant. And the third cause, which perhaps would not be sufficient without the other two, is the desire of glory and honour which this air generates to a great degree in men of every profession, and which in all persons who have spirit, will not permit them to remain equal to, much less behind others, whom they see to be but men like themselves, although they acknowledge them to be masters; it forces them therefore so greatly to desire their own greatness, that unless they are naturally kind or sensible, they are apt to become censorious, ungrateful, and forgetful of kindnesses. And

it is very true that when a man has learned enough, if he desires to do otherwise than live, like the beasts, from day to day, and wishes to become rich, he must depart from thence and sell elsewhere the goodness of his work and the reputation of this city, as the doctors do that of their studies. For Florence does with her artists the same as Time with all things, she makes them and then unmakes them, and consumes them by degrees."

The last plate is occupied by a representation of the bust, which in his enthusiasm for the glory of the French school, M. d'Agincourt erected in honour of his countryman, Nicholas Poussin, in the Pantheon at Rome, with the following inscription:

NIC. POUSSIN,
PICTORI GALLO
JOA. BAP. LUD. GIOR. SEROUX d'AGINCOURT.
1782.

His biographer is delighted with the homage that is paid to the artist by the amateur, and finds a noble simplicity in the inscription. Austere critics have asserted that the desire of engraving his own name in that famous and much visited temple, under the pretext of honouring another, was the true motive of the dedication, and that the inscription, simple as it is said to be, is a correct example of a rhetorical climax, in which the sense artfully rises in three steps, and the importance of the subject with it: first, we have the glory of Poussin, which is tolerably great; secondly, that of France, which is far greater; and thirdly, that of M. d'Agincourt himself, which is incomparably the greatest: and they add that more than twice as many words, without reckoning the date, are employed upon the last topic, as on both the former. This censure, however, is too severe; the vanity, if such it be, is harmless, perhaps laudable; and precedents are not wanting to justify it; the Chevalier d'Azara, the Spanish Ambassador at the court of Rome, had lately erected a similar monument in honour of Mengs, and the like offerings had been previously made by other worshippers at the shrine of art.

We have spoken with the utmost freedom of a work, which is possessed of so much merit, that it would have been easier to have bestowed upon it unqualified praise, and we have done so from a persuasion that it is incumbent on those, who differ from the received opinions on such attractive topics to state their own sentiments with entire frankness and an honest boldness, because the great cause of *virtù* must necessarily be forwarded by liberal inquiry, and can only be retarded by a servile submission to the imposing authority of great names.

ART. VI.—G. F. Sartorius Freyherrn von Waltershausen *Urkundliche Geschichte des Ursprunges der Deutschen Hanse.* Herausgegeben von J. M. Lappenberg. (G. F. Sartorius, Baron of Waltershausen's Documentary History of the Origin of the German Hanse. Published by J. M. Lappenberg.) 2 vols. 4to. (Vol. I. pp. xxxiv. and 314. Vol. II. pp. 762.) Hamburg. 1830.

DURING the anarchy which followed the subversion of the Empire of Charlemagne, commerce of every sort was almost entirely proscribed. The seas were covered with pirates; while the nobles, unacquainted with any other profession than that of arms, and despising the laborious and servile occupations of the husbandman and artizan, were engaged in perpetual contests with each other; and scrupled not to commit every sort of outrage on the property and persons of those who were unable to defend themselves. But notwithstanding these multiplied disorders, the seeds of improvement were not wholly destroyed. In Germany, as in Italy and elsewhere, the foundations of a new and better order of things were laid in the towns. Being associated together in considerable numbers the citizens became conscious of their strength; and began, at a very early period, to resist the tyrannical proceedings of the lay and ecclesiastical lords who had obtained an authority over them. Unluckily the citizens were themselves divided into the classes of nobles, freemen or burgesses, and serfs or slaves. According, however, as commerce and industry gained ground, the class of burgesses acquired a marked ascendancy over the nobles, while the lowest and most numerous class was, partly through its own efforts, partly through the influence of the Christian religion, and partly through the policy of the emperors, gradually raised to an equality with the burgesses. Henry V., who began his reign in 1106, abolished every legal distinction between the burgesses and *cives opifices*, or serfs of Spires, Worms, and some other towns: and it was about the same time enacted that a serf belonging to a stranger who should take refuge in any free city, and continue there for a determinate period, without being claimed by his master, should be declared free. In truth, however, this privilege was carried much farther; and few instances occurred in which a fugitive serf was given up, whatever might have been the length of his residence.

In order to strengthen themselves still further, the German towns like those of Italy, entered into associations for the purpose of mutual defence, or in order to advance their common interests. In 1255 more than seventy cities, at the head of which were Worms and Mentz, joined with the Archbishops of Mentz

and Cologne, in a league the object of which was to repress the exactions of the nobles, to procure the abolition of the tolls by which they had entirely obstructed the navigation of the rivers and even the intercourse by land, and the establishment of some sort of law and police. William the King, for so he was termed, of Germany, having approved of the objects of the confederacy, the efforts of its leaders were crowned with success. Several objectionable practices were abolished. And to use the words of the learned M. Pfeffel, " Les nobles, resserrés dans leurs châteaux, surveillés des toutes parts, et menacés de toute la rigueur des loix, *cessèrent pour quelque tems de voler sur les grands chemins.*"* Similar leagues were formed at subsequent periods; the efforts of the princes to deprive the cities of the power of entering into such associations, having proved entirely ineffectual.

In consequence of the liberty and security enjoyed by the inhabitants of the free towns, while the rest of the country was a prey to all the evils of feudal anarchy and oppression, they made a comparatively rapid progress in wealth and population. Nuremberg, Augsburg, Worms, Spires, Frankfort, and other cities became at an early period, celebrated alike for the extent of their commerce, the magnificence of their buildings, and the opulence of their citizens. The famous Eneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., the envoy of the Court of Rome at the councils of Constance and Bale, and who had travelled over the greater part of Europe, says that the kings of Scotland would wish to be as well lodged as the meaner burgesses of Nuremberg. " *Quot ibi civium ædes invenias Regibus dignas? Cuperent tam egregiè Scotorum Reges, quam mediocres Norimbergæ cives habitare.*"†

The commercial spirit awakened in the north, about the same time as in the south of Germany. Hamburgh was founded by Charlemagne in the beginning of the ninth century, in the intention of serving as a fort to bridle the Saxons, who had been subjugated by the emperor. Its favourable situation on the Elbe necessarily rendered it a commercial emporium. Towards the close of the twelfth century, the inhabitants, who had already been extensively engaged in naval enterprizes, began to form the design of emancipating themselves from the authority of their counts, and of becoming a sovereign and independent state; and in 1189 they obtained an Imperial charter which gave them various privileges, including among others, the power of electing councillors, or aldermen, to whom in conjunction with the deputy of the count, the government of the town was to be entrusted. Not long after Hamburgh became entirely free. In 1224 the

* Histoire d'Allemagne, Anno 1255. † De Mor. Germ. p. m. 1055.

citizens purchased from Count Albert the renunciation of all his rights, whether real or pretended, to any property in or sovereignty over the town, and its immediate vicinity. And the government was thus early placed on that liberal footing on which it has ever since remained.

Lubeck, situated on the Trave, was founded about the middle of the twelfth century. It rapidly grew to be a place of great trade. It became the principal emporium for the commerce of the Baltic; and its merchants extended their dealings to Italy and the Levant. At a period when navigation was still imperfect, and when the seas were infested with pirates, it was of great importance to be able to maintain a safe intercourse by land between Lubeck and Hamburgh, as by that means the difficult and dangerous navigation of the Sound was avoided.* And it is said by some, that the first political union between these cities had the protection of merchandize carried between them by land for its sole object. But this is contradicted by Lambec in his *Origines Hamburgenses* (lib. xi. pa. 26.) And it is, indeed, quite obvious that they must have been anxious to acquire protection against pirates at sea, as well as robbers by land, and to place themselves in a situation to make head against the princes who had begun to envy their wealth and prosperity. But whatever may have been the motives which led to the alliance between these two cities, it was the origin of the famous *Hanseatic League*, so called from the German word *hansa*, signifying a corporation. There is no very distinct evidence as to the time when the alliance in question was established; but the more general opinion seems to be that it dates from the year 1241.

Adam of Bremen, who flourished in the eleventh century, is the earliest writer who has given any information with respect to the commerce of the countries lying round the Baltic. And from the errors into which he has fallen in describing the northern and eastern shores of that sea, it is evident they had been very little frequented and not at all known in his time. But from the beginning of the twelfth century, the progress of commerce and navigation in the north was exceedingly rapid. The countries which stretch along the bottom of the Baltic from Holstein to Russia, and which had been occupied by barbarous tribes of Sclavonic origin, were then subjugated by the Kings of Denmark, the Dukes of Saxony, and other princes. The greater part of

* Among the interesting documents in the appendix to the work before us, is a proclamation (No. CXIV.) of the magistrates of Lubeck, dated in 1304, announcing that they used the same mint and the same coins that were used by the citizens of Hamburgh; and that they maintained at their own expense *thirty-two* horsemen, and the magistrates of Hamburgh *eight* horsemen, for the protection of merchants and merchandize going by land between the two cities, and stating the sums charged for their escort.

the inhabitants being exterminated, their place was filled by German colonists, who founded the towns of Stralsund, Rostock, Wismar, &c. Prussia and Poland were afterwards subjugated by the Christian princes, and the Knights of the Teutonic order. So that in a comparatively short period, the foundations of civilization and the arts were laid in countries whose barbarism had ever remained impervious to the Roman power.

The cities that were established along the coasts of the Baltic, and even in the interior of the countries bordering upon it, eagerly joined the Hanseatic confederation. They were indebted to the merchants of Lubeck for supplies of the commodities produced in more civilized countries, and they looked up to them for protection against the barbarians by whom they were surrounded. The progress of the league was in consequence singularly rapid. Previously to the end of the thirteenth century it embraced every considerable city in all those vast countries extending from Livonia to Holland; and was a match for the most powerful monarchs.

The Hanseatic confederacy was at its highest degree of power and splendour during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It then comprised from sixty to eighty cities, which were distributed into four classes or circles. Lubeck was at the head of the first circle, and had under it Hamburgh, Bremen, Rostock, Wismar, &c. Cologne was at the head of the second circle, with twenty-nine towns under it. Brunswick was at the head of the third circle, consisting of thirteen towns. Dantzic was at the head of the fourth circle, having under it eight towns in its vicinity, besides several that were more remote. The supreme authority of the League was vested in the deputies of the different towns assembled in Congress. In it they discussed all their measures; decided upon the sum that each city should contribute to the common fund; and upon the questions that arose between the confederacy and other powers, as well as those that frequently arose between the different members of the confederacy. The place for the meeting of Congress was not fixed, but it was most frequently held at Lubeck, which was considered as the capital of the League, and there its archives were kept. Sometimes, however, congresses were held at Hamburgh, Cologne and other towns. They met once every three years, or oftener if occasion required. The letters of convocation specified the principal subjects which would most probably be brought under discussion. Any one might be chosen for a deputy; and the Congress consisted not of merchants only, but also of clergymen, lawyers, artists, &c. When the deliberations were concluded, the decrees were formally communicated to the magistrates of the cities at the

head of each circle, by whom they were subsequently communicated to those below them; and the most vigorous measures were adopted for carrying them into effect. One of the burgomasters of Lubeck presided at the meetings of Congress; and during the recess the magistrates of that city had the sole, or at all events the principal direction of the affairs of the League.

Besides the towns already mentioned, there were others that were denominated confederated cities, or allies. The latter neither contributed to the common fund of the League, nor sent deputies to Congress; even the members were not all on the same footing in respect of privileges: and the internal commotions by which it was frequently agitated, partly originating in this cause, and partly in the discordant interests and conflicting pretensions of the different cities, materially impaired the power of the confederacy. But in despite of these disadvantages, the League succeeded for a lengthened period, not only in controuling its own refractory members, but in making itself respected and dreaded by others. It produced able generals and admirals, skilful politicians, and some of the most enterprizing, successful and wealthy merchants of modern times.

The *Golden Bull* proscribed all sorts of leagues and associations, as contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire, and to the subordination due to the emperor and the different princes. But Charles IV., the author of this famous edict, judged it expedient to conciliate the Hanseatic League; and his successors seem generally to have followed his example.

As the power of the confederated cities was increased and consolidated, they became more ambitious. Instead of limiting their efforts to the mere advancement of commerce and their own protection, they endeavoured to acquire the monopoly of the trade of the North, and to exercise the same sort of dominion over the Baltic that the Venetians exercised over the Adriatic. For this purpose they succeeded in obtaining, partly in return for loans of money, and partly by force, various privileges and immunities from the Northern sovereigns, which secured to them almost the whole foreign commerce of Scandinavia, Denmark, Prussia, Poland, Russia, &c. They exclusively carried on the herring-fishery of the Sound, at the same time that they endeavoured to obstruct and hinder the navigation of foreign vessels in the Baltic. It should, however, be observed that the immunities they enjoyed were mostly indispensable to the security of their commerce, in consequence of the barbarism that then prevailed; and notwithstanding their attempts at monopoly, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt that the progress of civilization in the North was prodigiously accelerated by the influence and ascendancy of the

Hanseatic cities. They repressed piracy by sea and robbery by land, which must have broken out again had their power been overthrown before civilization was fully established; they accustomed the inhabitants to the principles, and set before them the example of good government and subordination; they introduced amongst them conveniences and enjoyments unknown by their ancestors, or despised by them, and inspired them with a taste for literature and science; they did for the people round the Baltic what the Phœnicians had done in remoter ages for those round the Mediterranean, and deserve, equally with them, to be placed in the first rank amongst the benefactors of mankind.

"In order," as it has been justly observed, "to accomplish their purpose of rendering the Baltic a large field for the prosecution of commercial and industrious pursuits, it was necessary to instruct men, still barbarous, in the rudiments of industry, and to familiarize them in the principles of civilization. These great principles were laid by the confederation, and at the close of the fifteenth century the Baltic and the neighbouring seas had, by its means, become frequented routes of communication between the North and the South. The people of the former were enabled to follow the progress of the latter in knowledge and industry. The forests of Sweden, Poland, &c. gave place to corn, hemp and flax; the mines were wrought, and in return the produce and manufactures of the South were imported. Towns and villages were erected in Scandinavia, where huts only were before seen: the skins of the bear and the wolf were exchanged for woollens, linens and silks: learning was introduced; and printing was hardly invented before it was practised in Denmark, Sweden, &c."

The kings of Denmark, Sweden and Norway were frequently engaged in hostilities with the Hanse towns. They regarded, and it must be admitted not without pretty good reason, the privileges acquired by the League in their kingdoms, as so many usurpations. But their efforts to abolish these privileges served, for more than two centuries, only to augment and extend them.

"On the part of the League there was union, subordination and money; whereas the half-savage Scandinavian monarchies were full of divisions, factions and troubles; revolution was immediately followed by revolution, and feudal anarchy was at its height. There was another circumstance, not less important, in favour of the Hanseatic cities. The popular governments established amongst them possessed the respect and confidence of the inhabitants, and were able to direct the public energies for the good of the state. The astonishing prosperity of the confederated cities was not wholly the effect of commerce. To the undisciplined armies of the princes of the North—armies composed of vassals without attachment to their lords—the cities opposed, besides the inferior nobles whose services they liberally rewarded, citizens accustomed to danger, and resolved to defend their liberties and property. Their military operations were combined and directed by a council, composed of men of

tried talents and experience, devoted to their country, responsible to their fellow-citizens, and enjoying their confidence. It was chiefly, however, on their marine forces that the cities depended. They employed their ships indifferently in war or commerce, so that their naval armaments were fitted out at comparatively small expense. Exclusive too of these favourable circumstances, the fortifications of the principal cities were looked upon as impregnable; and as their commerce supplied them abundantly with all sorts of provisions, it need not excite our astonishment that Lubeck alone was able to carry on wars with the surrounding monarchs, and to terminate them with honour and advantage; and still less that the League should long have enjoyed a decided preponderance in the North."*

Waldemar III., who ascended the Danish throne in 1340, engaged in a furious contest with the League. Success seemed at first rather to incline to his arms. Ultimately, however, he was completely defeated by the forces of the League and its allies, and was even obliged to fly from his kingdom. In his exile he prevailed on the Emperor and the Pope to interpose in his favour. But neither the imperial rescripts nor the thunders of the Vatican were able to divert the confederated cities from their purposes. At length, in 1370, the regents, to whom the government of Denmark had been intrusted during the absence of the monarch, concluded a peace with the League on the conditions dictated by the latter; one of which was that most of the strong places in the kingdom should be given up to the League for fifteen years, in security for the faithful performance of the treaty. Waldemar having assented to these humiliating terms, returned soon after to Denmark. In the early part of the fifteenth century the Hanse towns having espoused the side of the Count of Holstein, who was at war with Eric X., King of Denmark, sent an armament of upwards of 200 ships, having more than 12,000 troops on board, to the assistance of their ally. This powerful aid decided the contest in his favour.

Nearly at the same time the League raised their ally, Albert of Mecklenburgh, to the throne of Norway, who confirmed to them several important commercial privileges. In their contests with Sweden, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the League were equally successful. Such, indeed, was their ascendancy in that kingdom, that they were authorized to nominate some of the principal magistrates in most of the Swedish maritime towns of any importance!

The extirpation of piracy was one of the objects which had originally led to the formation of the League, and which it never ceased to prosecute. Owing, however, to the barbarism then so

* L'Art de Verifier les Dates. Troisième Partie, tome viii. p. 204.

universally prevalent, and the countenance openly given by many princes and nobles to those engaged in this infamous profession, it was not possible wholly to root it out. But the vigorous efforts of the League to abate the nuisance, though not entirely successful, served to render the navigation of the North sea and the Baltic, comparatively secure, and were of signal advantage to commerce. Nor was this the only mode in which the power of the confederacy was directly employed to promote the common interests of mankind. Their exertions to protect shipwrecked mariners from the atrocities to which they had been subject, and to procure the restitution of shipwrecked property to its legitimate owners,* though, most probably, like their exertions to repress piracy, a consequence of selfish considerations, were in no ordinary degree meritorious; and contributed not less to the advancement of civilization than to the security of navigation.

The town of Wisby, situated on the west coast of the island of Gothland, became, during the ascendancy of the League, one of its principal depôts, and also one of the best frequented emporiums of the North.† But Wisby is chiefly famous from its name having become identified with the code of maritime laws that was long of paramount authority in the Baltic. Grotius has spoken of these laws in terms of high and deserved commendation. "Quæ de maritimis negotiis," says he, "insulæ Gothlandiæ habitatoribus placuerunt, tantum in re habent, tum æquitatis, tum prudentiæ, ut omnes oceani accolæ eo, non tanquam proprio, sed velut *gentium jure*, ûtantur." The principal Northern jurists and historians, regard the Wisby code, or compilation, as anterior to the code, or compilation, denominated the Rules or Judgments of Oleron, and as being in fact the most ancient monument of the maritime laws of the middle ages. But no learning or ingenuity can give plausibility to so improbable a theory. Navigation had made a considerable progress in Italy and the more southern countries of Europe, which had preserved some knowledge of the maritime laws of Rome, while the countries round the Baltic were sunk in the depths of barbarism. It is, therefore, far more reasonable to suppose that the magistrates of Wisby, or the individuals who framed the rules or regulations issued in that city,

* In the Appendix (No. LXVII.) to the work before us, is a series of resolutions, purporting to have been unanimously agreed to by the merchants frequenting the port of Wisby in 1287, providing for the restoration of shipwrecked property to its original owners, and threatening to eject from the "*consodalitate mercatorum*" any city that did not act conformably to the regulations laid down.

† Olaüs Magnus, speaking of Wisby, says, "Confluxere illuc Gothi, Suedi, Russi seu Reutheni, Dani, Prussi; Angli, Scoti, Flandri, Galli, Finni, Vandali, Saxones, Hispani, singulæque gentes, suos proprios vicos et plateas incolentes, *nulli precluum municipium*."—Lib. ii. cap. 24.

compiled them from the codes or customs of the foreigners frequenting their port, than that the latter should have derived their maritime laws from the former. There are many things, indeed, mentioned in the laws of Wisby, that are quite inexplicable on any other hypothesis. Had the code been an original compilation, that is, had it been drawn up from observations made by native merchants or jurists on the conduct and proceedings of those engaged in the commerce of the Baltic, and not copied from foreign codes or customs, the illustrations given in it would undoubtedly have been, for the most part at least, derived from the laws and practices of the principal trading towns on that sea. But the very reverse of this is the fact. Almost all the places mentioned in the laws of Wisby are situated without the Baltic. Repeated references are made to the Scheldt, to Hamburgh, Amsterdam, Rochelle, Bordeaux, &c.; and regulations are laid down as to what should be done in the event of certain occurrences taking place in them. But from one end of the code to the other there is not a single allusion to Stockholm, though in the immediate vicinity of Wisby, to Dantzic or Riga, or indeed to any port in the Baltic, with the exception of Lubeck and Copenhagen! The 25th article gives particular directions as to the stowage of wine, and the circumstances under which the owners should be obliged to indemnify the merchants for any injury that had happened to it; but we look in vain for a single word respecting timber, iron, corn, or any one of the peculiar productions of the countries contiguous to the Baltic. It is not conceivable that such should have been the case had the laws of Wisby been an original compilation; and, in point of fact, the article now alluded to is a literal translation of the 11th article of the Judgments of Oleron, in which, being intended for the regulation of the maritime affairs of France, it was most properly placed: but for a detailed statement of the various matters connected with the history of this celebrated code, we beg to refer our readers to the chapter upon it in the first volume of the very learned and excellent work of M. Pardessus, "*Collection des Loix Maritimes anterieures au dixhuitieme Siècle.*" It is there shown, in the most conclusive manner, that the laws of Wisby have been copied with very little variation from the ancient maritime laws of Lubeck, the Rules of Oleron, and the ancient maritime laws of Holland.

The northern jurists have not been less erroneous in their statements as to the antiquity of the Wisby code. It is abundantly certain, from allusions in the code itself and other circumstances, that it was not compiled previously to the end of the fourteenth, or the beginning of the fifteenth century. A more

ancient and extended body of maritime law, compiled under Magnus, King of Sweden, was promulgated with his sanction and authority between the years 1320 and 1360. But this code seems to have attracted no attention, and was entirely forgotten when it was published, for the first time, by Hadorph in 1681. The code referred to by Grotius, Leibnitz, Loccenius, &c., under the name of the "Supreme Maritime Law of Wisby," to which the preceding remarks exclusively apply, consists, in M. Pardessus's edition, of sixty-six articles, and was first printed at Copenhagen in 1505.

But whatever may have been the origin or the date of the laws of Wisby, the regulations embodied in them are for the most part consistent with the soundest principles, and are, and ever will be, of great authority in all questions of maritime jurisprudence. Their promulgation must have been of great use to navigation. As the historian observes, maritime suits were much more expeditiously decided by them, than other causes by the courts upon the main land. "Ab hâc etiam Insulâ (Gothlandiâ) in omni navigantium controversia, præsertim a Consulatu Visbycensi petitur et datur jus, et sententia definitiva, quid unicuique permittendum vel auferendum erit. *Certe, jus hoc mercatorum, ac nautarum, valde prudenter digestum, citius lites adimit in fluidis aquis, quam aliorum decisio in terra firma.*"

In order to facilitate and extend their commercial transactions, the League established various factories in foreign countries, the principal of which were at Novogorod in Russia, London in England, Bruges in the Netherlands, and Bergen in Norway.

Novogorod, situated at the confluence of the Volkof with the Imler Lake, was, for a lengthened period, the most renowned emporium in the north-eastern parts of Europe. In the beginning of the eleventh century, the inhabitants obtained considerable privileges that laid the foundation of their liberty and prosperity. Their sovereigns were at first subordinate to the Grand Dukes or Czars of Russia; but as the city and the contiguous territory increased in population and wealth, they gradually usurped an almost absolute independency. The power of these sovereigns over their subjects, seems, at the same time, to have been exceedingly limited; and in effect, Novogorod ought rather to be considered as a republic under the jurisdiction of an elective magistrate, than as a state subject to a regular line of hereditary monarchs, possessed of extensive prerogatives. During the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, Novogorod formed the grand entrepôt between the countries to the east of Poland and the Hanseatic cities. Its fairs were frequented by an immense concourse of people from all the surrounding countries, as well

as by numbers of merchants from the Hanse towns, who engrossed the greater part of its foreign commerce, and who furnished its markets with the manufactures and products of distant countries. Novogorod is said to have contained, during its most flourishing period, towards the middle of the fifteenth century, upwards of 400,000 souls. This, however, is most probably an exaggeration. But its dominions were then very extensive; and its wealth and power seemed so great and well established, and the city itself so impregnable, as to give rise to a proverb, Who can resist the Gods and great Novogorod? *Quis contra Deos et magnam Novogordiam?**

But its power and prosperity were far from being so firmly established as its eulogists, and those who had only visited its fairs, appear to have supposed. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, Ivan Vassilievitch, Czar of Russia, having secured his dominions against the inroads of the Tartars, and extended his empire by the conquest of some of the neighbouring principalities, asserted his right to the principality of Novogorod, and supported his pretensions by a formidable army. Had the inhabitants been animated by the spirit of unanimity and patriotism, they might have defied his efforts; but their dissensions facilitated their conquest, and rendered them an easy prey. Having entered the city at the head of his troops, Ivan received from the citizens the charter of their liberties, which they either wanted courage or inclination to defend, and carried off an enormous bell to Moscow, that had been long regarded with a sort of superstitious veneration as the palladium of the city. But notwithstanding the despotism to which Novogorod was subject, during the reigns of Ivan and his successors, it continued for a considerable period to be the largest as well as most commercial city in the Russian empire. The famous Richard Chancellour, who passed through Novogorod in 1554, in his way from the court of the Czar, says, that "next unto Moscow, the city of Novogorod is reputed the chiefest of Russia; for although it be in majestie inferior to it, yet in greatness it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest mart town of all Muscovy; and albeit the emperor's seat is not there, but at Moscow, yet the commodiousness of the river falling into the gulph of Finland, whereby it is well-frequented by merchants, makes it more famous than Moscow itself."

But the scourge of the destroyer soon after fell on this celebrated city. Ivan IV. having discovered in 1570, a correspondence between some of the principal citizens, and the King of Poland, relative to a surrender of the city into his hands,

* See Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 155.

punished them in the most inhuman manner.* The slaughter by which the blood-thirsty barbarian sought to satisfy his revenge was alike extensive and undiscriminating. The crime of a few citizens was made the pretext for the massacre of twenty-five or thirty thousand. Novogorod never recovered from this dreadful blow. It still, however, continued to be a place of considerable trade until the foundation of Petersburgh, which immediately became the seat of that commerce that had formerly centered at Novogorod. The degradation of this ill-fated city is now complete. It is at present an inconsiderable place, with a population of about 7,000 or 8,000; and is remarkable only for its history and antiquities.

The merchants of the Hanse towns, or Hansards, as they were then commonly termed, were established in London at a very early period, and their factory here was of considerable magnitude and importance. They enjoyed various privileges and immunities; they were permitted to govern themselves by their own laws and regulations; the custody of one of the gates of the city (Bishopsgate) was committed to their care; and the duties on various sorts of imported commodities were considerably reduced in their favour. These privileges necessarily excited the ill-will and animosity of the English merchants. The Hansards were every now and then accused of acting with bad faith; of introducing commodities as their own that were really the produce of others, in order to enable them to evade the duties with which they ought to have been charged; of capriciously extending the list of towns belonging to the association; and obstructing the commerce of the English in the Baltic. Efforts were continually making to bring these disputes to a termination, but as they really grew out of the privileges granted to and claimed by the Hansards, this was found to be impossible. The latter were exposed to many indignities; and their factory, which was situated in Thames Street, was not unfrequently attacked. The League exerted themselves vigorously in defence of their privileges; and having declared war against England, they succeeded in excluding our vessels from the Baltic, and acted with such energy, that Edward IV. was glad to come to an accommodation with them, on terms which were anything but honourable to the English. In the treaty for this purpose, negotiated in 1474, the privileges of the merchants of the Hanse towns were renewed, and the king assigned to them, in absolute property, a large space of ground, with the buildings upon it, in Thames Street, denominated the Steel Yard, whence the Hanse merchants have been commonly

* See Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 173, and following.

denominated the Association of the Steel Yard; the property of their establishments at Boston and Lynn was also secured to them; the king engaged to allow no stranger to participate in their privileges; one of the articles bore that the Hanse merchants should be no longer subject to the judges of the English Admiralty Court, but that a particular tribunal should be formed for the easy and speedy settlement of all disputes that might arise between them and the English; and it was further agreed that the particular privileges awarded to the Hanse merchants should be published as often as the latter judged proper, in all the sea-port towns of England, and such Englishmen as infringed upon them should be punished. In return for these concessions the English acquired the liberty of freely trading in the Baltic, and especially in the port of Dantzic and in Prussia. In 1498, all direct commerce with the Netherlands being suspended, the trade fell into the hands of the Hanse merchants, whose commerce was in consequence very greatly extended. But, according as the spirit of commercial enterprise awakened in the nation, and as the benefits resulting from the prosecution of foreign trade came to be better known, the privileges of the Hanse merchants became more and more obnoxious. They were in consequence considerably modified in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., and were at length wholly abolished in 1597.

The different individuals belonging to the factory in London, as well as those belonging to the other factories of the League, lived together at a common table, and were enjoined to observe the strictest celibacy. The direction of the factory in London was entrusted to an alderman, two assessors, and nine councillors. The latter were sent by the cities forming the different classes into which the League was divided. The business of these functionaries was to devise means for extending and securing the privileges and commerce of the association; to watch over the operations of the merchants; and to adjust any disputes that might arise amongst the members of the confederacy, or between them and the English. The League endeavoured at all times to promote, as much as possible, the employment of their own ships. In pursuance of this object they went so far, in 1447, as to forbid the importation of English merchandize into the confederated cities, except by their own vessels. But a regulation of this sort could not be carried into full effect; and was enforced or modified according as circumstances were favourable or adverse to the pretensions of the League. Its very existence was, however, an insult to the English nation; and the irritation produced by the occasional attempts to act upon it, contributed materially to the subversion of the privileges the Hanseatic merchants had acquired amongst us.

By means of their factory at Bergen, and of the privileges which had been either granted to or usurped by them, the League enjoyed for a lengthened period the monopoly of the commerce of Norway.

But the principal factory of the League was at Bruges in the Netherlands. Bruges became, at a very early period, one of the first commercial cities of Europe, and the centre of the most extensive trade carried on to the north of Italy. The art of navigation in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was so imperfect, that a voyage from Italy to the Baltic and back again could not be performed in a single season; and hence, for the sake of their mutual convenience, the Italian and Hanseatic merchants determined on establishing a magazine or store-house of their respective products in some intermediate situation. Bruges was fixed upon for this purpose, a distinction which it seems to have owed as much to the freedom enjoyed by the inhabitants, and the liberality of the government of the Low Countries, as to the conveniency of its situation. In consequence of this preference, Bruges speedily rose to the very highest rank among commercial cities, and became a place of vast wealth. It was at once a staple for English wool, for the woollen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands, for the timber, hemp and flax, pitch and tar, tallow, corn, fish, ashes, &c. of the North; and for the spices and Indian commodities, as well as their domestic manufactures imported by the Italian merchants. The fairs of Bruges were the best frequented of any in Europe. Ludovico Guicciardini mentions, in his description of the Low Countries, that in the year 1318 no fewer than five Venetian galleasses, vessels of very considerable burden, arrived in Bruges in order to dispose of their cargoes at the fair. The Hanseatic merchants were the principal purchasers of Indian commodities; they disposed of them in the ports of the Baltic, or carried them up the great rivers into the heart of Germany. The vivifying effects of this commerce were every where felt; the regular intercourse opened between the nations in the north and south of Europe made them sensible of their mutual wants, and gave a wonderful stimulus to the spirit of industry. This was particularly the case with regard to the Netherlands. Manufactures of wool and flax had been established in that country as early as the age of Charlemagne, and the resort of foreigners to their markets, and the great additional vent that was thus opened for their manufactures, made them be carried on with a vigour and success that had been hitherto unknown. These circumstances, combined with the free spirit of their institutions, and the moderation of the government, so greatly promoted every elegant and useful art, that the Netherlands early became the

most civilized, best cultivated, richest, and most populous country of Europe.

"Flanders," says Mr. Macpherson under the year 1301, "being the seat of the best manufactures to the northward of the Alps and the Pyrenæan mountains; and, consequently, crowded with people, the greatest exertions were made to render the fields as productive as possible; and the encouragement afforded by so numerous a population was a most powerful stimulus to the industry and ingenuity of the agriculturists. It is generally allowed that the other countries in the west of Europe have been instructed in agriculture and horticulture by the Flemings; and have been earlier or later in their improvements in those arts in proportion to the earliness and frequency of their intercourse with their masters. Literature and the fine arts were also more flourishing in Flanders than in the neighbouring countries during the prosperous ages of their manufactures and commerce. So true is it that plenty and politeness are produced and nourished by the genial influence of well-directed industry."

The commerce of Bruges continued to flourish without interruption till about 1490, when the Emperor Frederick III., in revenge of the imprisonment of his son Maximilian, treated the city with great severity. In consequence, the commerce that had been previously carried on at Bruges was gradually transferred to Antwerp, which speedily rose to the highest rank among commercial cities.

From the middle of the fifteenth century the power of the confederacy, though still very formidable, began to decline. This was not owing to any misconduct on the part of its leaders, but to the progress of that improvement it had done so much to promote. The superiority enjoyed by the League resulted as much from the anarchy, confusion, and barbarism that prevailed throughout the kingdoms of the north, as from the good government and order that distinguished the towns. But a distinction of this sort could not be permanent. The civilization which had been at first confined to the cities, gradually spread from them, as from so many centres, over the contiguous country. Feudal anarchy was every where superseded by a system of subordination; arts and industry were diffused and cultivated; and the authority of government was at length firmly established. This change not only rendered the princes, over whom the League had so frequently triumphed, superior to it in power, but the inhabitants of the countries amongst which the confederated cities were scattered, having learned to entertain a just sense of the advantages derivable from commerce and navigation, could not brook the superiority of the association, or bear to see its members in possession of immunities of which they were deprived: and in addition to

these circumstances, which must speedily have occasioned the dissolution of the League, the interests of the different cities of which it consisted became daily more and more opposed to each other. Lubeck, Hamburgh, Bremen, and the towns in their vicinity, were latterly the only ones that had any interest in its maintenance. The cities in Zealand and Holland joined it, chiefly because they would otherwise have been excluded from the commerce of the Baltic; and those of Prussia, Poland, and Russia did the same, because, had they not belonged to it, they would have been shut out from all intercourse with strangers. When, however, the Zealanders and Hollanders became sufficiently powerful at sea to be able to vindicate their right to the free navigation of the Baltic by force of arms, they immediately seceded from the League; and no sooner had the ships of the Dutch, the English, &c. begun to trade directly with the Polish and Prussian Hanse Towns, than these nations also embraced the first opportunity of withdrawing from it. The fall of this great confederacy was really, therefore, a consequence of the improved state of society, and of the development of the commercial spirit in the different nations of Europe. It was most serviceable so long as those for whom its merchants acted as factors and carriers were too barbarous, too much occupied with other matters, or destitute of the necessary capital and skill, to act in these capacities for themselves. When they were in a situation to do this, the functions of the Hanseatic merchants ceased as a matter of course; their confederacy fell to pieces; and at the middle of the seventeenth century the cities of Lubeck, Hamburgh, and Bremen were all that continued to acknowledge the authority of the League.

ART. VII.—1. *Geschichte des Teutschen Volkes.* Von Heinrich Luden. (History of the German Nation. By Henry Luden.) 5 bänden. Gotha. 1825—1830.

2. *Geschichte der Alten Deutschen, besonders der Franken.* Von Konrad Mannert, Hofrath und ordentlicher Professor an der Universität zu München. (History of the Old Germans, especially the Franks. By Conrad Mannert, Aulic Counsellor and regular Professor at the University of Munich.) Stuttgart und Tübingen. 1829. 8vo.

THE early history of Germany is, perhaps, less generally known than that of any other country, amongst those usually prominent in our thoughts when we speak of the European commonwealth. Various causes may have contributed to this. One not uninfluential is the frequent disappearance of the parent stock from the

busy scene of general action, even whilst the swarms successively thrown off were either locust-like temporarily over-running and desolating the world, or permanently hiving themselves in its happier districts—a disappearance renewed in later times after the fall of the Hohenstauffen or Swabian emperors. Another cause may be the want of a good German history, either in the languages more familiar to the reading public, or even in the vernacular tongue, the Germans themselves usually proving, it must be confessed, heavy historians. But the principal cause we conceive to be, that one of the last of those conquering swarms already mentioned, the Franks, bestowed their own name upon a part of the land they conquered and occupied; whilst they so amalgamated themselves with the more civilized vanquished inhabitants, whose language they adopted, that they lost even those personal characteristics described as almost universal amongst the Teutonic races, and soon came to be considered, if not actually as Gauls, yet as French, in contradistinction to Germans. Hence, as also from the general adoption of the Frenchified version of his Latin title Carolus Magnus, that most brilliant meteor illuminating the dark ages, Charlemagne,* is to this day esteemed a French prince, although he was not only a German Frank, but one of those Franks who, having settled in the provinces upon the Rhine, had remained pure unadulterated Germans; although he habitually held his court at Aachen, or Aix, (which even to a late period continued to be a sort of metropolis of the German empire, where the emperors were, or ought to be, elected,) and spoke German as his mother tongue; nay not only spoke, but endeavoured to raise it to the dignity of a written and cultivated language, by collecting all the national poems then extant, including perhaps those metrical records of ancestral fame mentioned by Tacitus as common amongst the early Germans. These songs, so invaluable to the historian, the philosopher and the philologist, to say nothing of the antiquary and the poet, were rejected, if not destroyed, by the piety of his son Louis *le Debonnaire*, on account of their heathenism.

But however naturally it may have arisen, such ignorance concerning the only nation that, with permanent success, resisted the gigantic power of Rome, partially at least foiling her vaticinated destiny, *regere imperio populos*, and which, in the end, actually subjected the larger portion of the western Roman empire, is not to be therefore approved or justified. Assuredly there is no other modern nation whose early history can possess equal claims to

* More brilliant, perhaps, than our Alfred, though less wise, less great, and less good.

general interest with the German, to whom we may, with but little alteration, apply what Sismondi, in the Introduction to his *Histoire des Français*, says of France.

"The central situation of France, her power, the long duration of her monarchy, the supremacy which at two or three different intervals she has acquired over the whole of the West, have so linked her destiny with all the others, that the revolutions of European nations proceed almost always from those of France, so that next to the national history, the history of France is that which each of them ought to study. Germany, Italy, Northern Spain, Savoy, Belgium, Holland, and Switzerland, all formed part of the monarchy of the Merovingian or Carlovingian Franks. With their subjection to that monarchy commences, for these countries, the history of all the nations which now inhabit them."

Of course we cannot here pretend to supply the historical *desideratum* to which we have alluded, but we may briefly indicate the points of striking and general European interest that mark the early annals of the Germans.

The Germans first present themselves to our notice as warriors alarming, nay terrifying, the arrogant Romans, and that not in the infancy of their power, when the Samnites or the Volscians were formidable antagonists, but in the very fullness of their strength, in the first vigour of youthful manhood, when Italy, Spain, part of Gaul, the northern coast of Africa, Greece, Syria and Asia Minor were subdued to the republican yoke. Then was it that the Cimbri and Teutones, issuing from the North of Germany, (which, with the northern coast of Gaul, is the situation where we first find the Teutonic races, the southern division of both countries being occupied by Celtic or Keltic tribes,) invaded and harassed Italy, chilling the mistress of the world with fear. Nor was the fear groundless. They were only to be kept from thundering at the gates of the Capitol by the talents and energies of that mighty plebeian Caius Marius, who, upon this occasion, was allowed by the haughty patricians to hold the consulate year after year, unopposed, and we apprehend unenvied. Marius repulsed and utterly defeated these dreaded barbarians, and the Eternal City recovered her disdainful confidence.

The Germans next meet us in Cæsar's Commentaries. The principal resistance which the future usurper experienced in subduing Gaul, appears to have been offered either by German tribes settled in that country, or German armies from the right bank of the Rhine. Of such an army was Ariovist the leader. He entered Gaul as the ally of one small Gallic state against another; made himself, after the fashion of such allies, master of both parties; and was acknowledged by the Romans as King of the Germans in Gaul. When Cæsar's victory over the Helvetians

had filled the Gauls, conscious of their hopes and schemes, with terror, they hastened to lay their submission and homage at the feet of the conqueror, and endeavoured to propitiate him by bitter complaints against the oppression and tyranny of Ariovist. Cæsar promptly undertook to relieve them from all despotism but his own. The superiority of the Romans in military science, joined to his own extraordinary abilities, enabled him to defeat Ariovist, and drive him back across the Rhine, with the remainder of his forces. The German tribes occupying Belgium and some provinces in the north of Gaul, were next compelled to submit, if that state may fairly be called one of submission, in which the reluctant native watches for every opportunity of insurrection, and seizing it, often inflicts great and serious evil upon the detested master. Twice Julius Cæsar crossed the Rhine; but if we judge from the shortness and inactivity of his stay upon the right bank of the river, rather for the purpose of dazzling the imagination of the Romans by the name of the thing, than with any hope of really extending in that direction the dominions of the haughty Republic, of which he was even then meditating the subversion.

From this period the Germans inhabiting Germany beyond the Rhine seem for some centuries to have contended merely for their own independence, leaving their brethren in Gaul (who formed four Roman provinces, *i. e.* 1st and 2d Germania, 1st and 2d Belgium) to themselves. The struggle was attended with fluctuating success, according to the individual character of the several emperors who successively occupied the throne of the world. During the reign of the all-powerful Augustus, repeated and successful incursions into Germany were made by Drusus and Tiberius; but they effected no permanent establishment, and their temporary success was amply avenged by the defeat, the actual annihilation, of Varus and his army of occupation. The son of Drusus was sent to avenge the disgrace of the Roman eagles, and is stated to have been still more fortunate in his enterprizes than his father or his uncle. But he was recalled from the theatre of his triumphs by the suspicious jealousy of Tiberius, and his own surname of Germanicus was the most durable monument of his achievements. Perhaps the success which he and his predecessors did obtain, might in no small measure be ascribed to the perpetual divisions of the different German states amongst themselves.

As the power of Rome dwindled in the hands of insane or profligate tyrants, and of a people corrupt enough to submit to an authority only redeemed from contempt by its atrocity, the complexion of the contest betwixt the empire and the Germans changed. The latter, instead of merely struggling to preserve their own freedom, became in their turn the aggressors. Rome

was still not altogether fallen, and the fortunes of either party alternated as before, but with a constant tendency in favour of the purer and nobler, if more barbarous Germans. Whilst German adventurers now occasionally wore the imperial crown, different tribes gradually extended their conquests in different directions, until, towards the close of the fifth century,—the Ostrogoths occupying Italy—the Visigoths, Suevi and Burgundians Spain, Portugal, Southern Gaul and Switzerland—the Franks Northern Gaul, and the Saxons England, the western Roman empire was at an end. In the course of this contest, the Germans, by repulsing Attila and his Huns, saved Europe, perhaps, from being assimilated to the barbarism of Central Asia, (the Franks and Visigoths under their respective kings, in conjunction with Ætius and a Roman army, consisting almost entirely of Germans, defeated Attila near Chalons); and within the next 300 years the Franks under Charles Martel merited similar gratitude from Christian Europe, by defeating the Saracens near Tours.

But it is not in their martial character alone, it is not merely as the conquerors of ancient Europe, or even as the founders of the states of modern Europe, that the early Germans command our attention, or our interest. Their simple institutions, either such as we first find them, or as they necessarily developed themselves in the course of their conquering career, are the true source of all the systems of polity that have since prevailed. From these are derived alike the feudalism of the most enthralled of continental nations, and the free constitution of England, her parliaments, and her trial by jury. Further, to the pure chastity of their manners, and the consequent respect entertained for the weaker sex, may be ascribed much of the lofty spirit of chivalry, much of the just rank now held by woman, and consequently much of the immeasurable superiority of the modern structure of society, even in its lowest state, over the boasted civilization of Greece and Rome; and we think we discover the origin of much of the spirit of Protestantism, certainly of the mysticism that characterizes modern German piety, in the deep religious feelings with which our common ancestors, disdaining idols and temples, worshipped an invisible divine influence in the solemn gloom of their forests.

Nor to the philosopher, to the classical scholar, and to the historical student, is it the least of the claims of the Germans that our knowledge of those institutions and manners is chiefly derived from Tacitus. His countrymen, if they could not actually contemn the bold warriors, whose prowess they dreaded, still regarded them as mere savages, whose courage was the only quality they possessed deserving notice. But the high-minded moralist, who shrank in disgust from the vices that surrounded him—the philo-

sophical politician, who beheld in those vices the source of the slavery and degeneracy of the once sovereign Republic, felt his best sympathies kindle into admiration whilst he contemplated the rude, perhaps, but genuine virtues, the uncompromising spirit of liberty that dwelt in the primeval forests of Germany. He *may* have coloured these excellencies too highly (he is taxed with having so done) to enhance the contrast with Roman license and baseness, but he has painted them with a graphic truth, which, through all the changes of times and seasons, of government and religion, of refinement and corruption, we can still recognise.

We must now turn to the two distinguished authors whom it is our present business to review. Both are known and esteemed for various historical, biographical and geographical works, and will assuredly not lessen their established reputation by the productions before us, which the historical student will find invaluable magazines of information, although we would by no means recommend either for translation, German history being in truth untranslatable. Both Luden and Mannert profess to write their several Histories for the purpose of instilling into their readers a veneration like their own for their early ancestors. In other respects they not only treat their subject very dissimilarly, but take very opposite views of some main points; the differences being, perhaps, of the kind that might be anticipated from the comparative bulk of their Histories. Konrad Mannert, who gives us the history of the Franks to the death of Charlemagne in one moderate octavo volume,* takes facts, for the most part, as he finds them recorded in ancient authors. He is somewhat dry and cold, from his brevity, (an uncommon fault, by the way, in a German,) but his statements are clear. He presents the received opinions of historians and legal antiquaries in a distinct and compact form, paints broadly the good and bad qualities of all parties, and if he neither interests nor delights, instructs his reader. We should add, that he occasionally illustrates his positions with incidents of the times he is describing, which are well told, and afford a pleasing relief to the mind.

Heinrich Luden, on the other hand, is a true German. His History is of the German nation, and to be completed in ten thick octavo volumes; or should it extend to a few more, he thinks no reasonable man can object. He begins with the very first mention of the Germans in Roman history, and intimates that he may possibly end with the fifteenth century. He does not impart his reasons, and we confess ourselves unable to discover, why the

* We observe that a *second* volume has just appeared.

history of the German nation should cease when the German empire was about to resume an active part in European politics. But of this when the time comes; that is to say, when our author shall have brought down his work to the period in question. For the present we have only to do with the first four volumes, which end with the coronation of Charlemagne as Roman emperor; and we take them without awaiting the forthcoming of more, because they comprise the whole of the interesting period concerning which we have just given our own views, and moreover nearly coincide with that selected by Mannert.

Unlike Mannert, Luden takes no fact as he finds it in ancient authors. Of him might indeed be said what Sismondi says of German jurists. " their prodigious research, their ingenious criticism, their skill in detaching resemblances and connections, drawing new truths out of the well of old facts, have in more recent times, thrown a blaze of light on the antiquities common to both Franks and Germans," (a part and the whole.) Luden reasons upon the prejudices and interests that must have coloured the statements of former historians, upon what they say and what they suppress. He puts together hints casually dropped by different writers; shows where the subsequent course of events convicts them of misrepresentation, or at least of omission; and supplies a conjectural narrative from all these sources. This he does by the Greek and Latin authors in behalf of the Germans collectively; and by the Frank chroniclers, on behalf of the Saxons, Bavarians, Thuringians, and in short of all the tribes who resisted the supremacy assumed by their conquering Frank brethren. We hardly need subjoin, that the facts thus elicited or surmised are all favourable to his and our common ancestors, or that it is requisite to read so speculative an historian with caution, lest the unlearned should take these fanciful relations for established and admitted history, at least for what, according to the French wit, *on est convenu de croire.*

Many of these argumentative disquisitions have, we must say, afforded us considerable pleasure. Before reaching the end of the fourth volume, however, such unceasing, laborious, subtle and conjectural investigations of what must or may have been the concatenation of events, becomes wearisome; and Luden's illustrative incidents want the contrast which gives effect to Mannert's. In short, although this *plaidoyer* on behalf of the old Germans has to us proved on the whole gratifying in the perusal, we would nevertheless fain hope, that the author may not deem it necessary to pursue the same course through all his remaining volumes, whatever be their number. But we doubt such hope were idle, since he tells us in an apologetical introduction prefixed to his fourth volume—

" Had I had nothing new to offer, I should assuredly never have undertaken to write the History of the German nation;" and we grievously fear that such novelty must still be evolved out of the same kind of sifting of old records.

Some of the new opinions advanced in the present volume are sufficiently bold and original. Of course we cannot pretend, within our limits, to discuss, or even to enumerate them all; nor, if we could, would the subject prove entertaining to the general reader; whilst to the lover of historical investigation we decidedly recommend the original work. A few of these historical heresies, however, we shall briefly mention, selecting such as possess most general interest for a degree of detail that may give a fair idea of Luden's talents and manner. Amongst these are his denial of any wandering propensity in the early Germans as nations, and consequent assertion that almost all their conquests were made by bands of youthful adventurers without property at home, led forth by some distinguished prince or leader similarly circumstanced; his defence of Brunhildis and Fredegundis, more commonly known and reprobated as Brunehault and Fredegonde; his averment that the last Merovingian kings, the *Rois fainéans* of French history, were treated with all external decorum by the aspiring Carlovingian *Maires du Palais*, whom he denominates *Haus Æltester*, or House-Elder, and conceives to have originally been the fiscal chief of the *Geleit*, or body of adventurers constituting the king's household, or family; from the very nature of which *Geleit* he ingeniously deduces the necessary rise and development of the feudal system. This subject is, we think, skilfully handled; so is his inquiry into the name of Germans, given by the Gauls to their warlike neighbours, as our author conceives, because the frontier guards, with whom they came most into contact, called themselves the *Wehr Männer*, men of war or defence; further deriving many names of tribes or states from similar sources, as Marcomanni, Marchmen; Bavarians, *Wehren* against the Baji or Boji; Franks, not from *frank*, meaning free, nor from Φραχτοι, meaning armed, nor from their favourite weapon the *francisca*, which he thinks more likely to have been so named from them, but from the word *Wrangen*, still used in Lower Saxony for to fight or to brawl; whence the name might mean quarrelsome, or, perhaps, bold warriors. But Luden's speculations concerning Tacitus's treatise *De Moribus Germanorum* must, we think, whether approved or rejected, interest every classical scholar, every admirer of the great Latin historian. This treatise Luden considers as merely notes or materials, prepared beforehand by Tacitus for that portion of his History which was to treat of his countrymen's wars with the Germans. The German author says,

"This work, single in its kind, has often been over-valued, as well on account of its author, as of the great importance which the nation to whom it is dedicated, has since acquired; yet, never can it be sufficiently valued. Wrongfully has it been esteemed a masterpiece; but it contains the essence of all that the Romans knew concerning Germany and Germans. Every statement is written with the genius that never deserted Tacitus, because it was peculiarly his, and the whole of his notices present themselves in that pure light of lofty morality through which his works so powerfully affect well ordered minds. But the detached statements seem loosely strung together, as the facts became known to the author; they are not wrought into a whole, into a lucid representation. Hence, it is not probable that Tacitus designed to make these remarks upon Germany known in this form. There is scarcely any thing in the writing that should induce such an opinion. It would rather seem that Tacitus had collected these notices for the sake of the other works which he had written, or might intend to write. They were materials for historical representations,—separate sketches, such as every historian makes or needs. To give his history the truth, life, and intrinsic truth, capable of compensating for want of fullness, he felt it indispensable to know the world which had produced that Prince Armin,* before whose might the Roman eagles had fled. As he might judge it impossible to obtain a complete knowledge of this world, he sought from the detached pieces of information he met with to elicit general principles, the individuality distinguishing the German from other nations, the peculiar nature of the land upon which their life developed itself. He sought to attain to a perception of the original constitution of their civil society, of which the constitution of so many states, which separately he could neither understand nor describe, were only branches, similar in character, with particular deviations, produced by situation and circumstances. In like manner he sought to investigate the essence of their morals and religion, because the customs of single nations could rarely be known to him. And what information he gained he put together inartificially, in order to stand upon a spiritual ground-work, in his representation of great events. Circumstances unknown to us led him perhaps, afterwards, to publish the crude remarks which he could not work up, or they may have been made known accidentally, and then may a necessary connexion have been given to the detached parts, which originally they neither had nor wanted. Thus, it should seem, arose this admired and incomprehensible *booklet*."

To this statement of opinion is appended a note, explaining the grounds upon which it rests, far too long to translate, but which we will try to condense and extract so as to do it justice.

"Hardly any one can have read and meditated this treatise through, without feeling himself staggered, and compelled to acknowledge that he does not well know what to make of the tiny *booklet*, and that it wants the pure historical character.

"As for myself, I confess a doubt has often crossed my mind whether it really were written by Tacitus. From this doubt I was scared by the

* The Arminius of Latin, the Hermann of most German writers.

genius that in various detached parts spoke to me irrefragably, and which I could only agnize as the genius of Tacitus; this doubt was likewise opposed by a feeling of bitter pain that I could not subdue."

This terrible doubt rested chiefly upon the circumstance of the *MS. de Mor. Germ.* not being found with any of the oldest MSS. of Tacitus's other works, and of its not being mentioned by any ancient writer upon Germany except Cassiodorus, who quotes it thus, *quodam Cornelio scribente*, and who could say 'one Cornelius,' of Tacitus? This *quodam*, however, Luden argues from the context to be the blunder of a copyist for *quondam*, and thence that Cassiodorus knew the Germany as the work of Tacitus. A stone fell from our author's heart; still it was not a book meant for publication, but *notamina*, studies for his own use, an opinion grounded upon nine reasons.

1st. The title is borrowed from Livy, with the mere addition of the word *populis,—de situ, moribus, populisque Germaniæ.*

2dly. It has no introduction. The first sentences of the Annals, History, and Life of Agricola, respectively state the purport of the several works.

"It may therefore be confidently averred that it was the style of Tacitus, in the works he designed for publication, to establish a friendly understanding with his readers, to greet them, and give them notice what they would and what they would not find. But the *Germania* begins without address, without definition, without the appearance of the author, or mention of the reader, in a word, without introduction: *Germania omnis—separatur*, &c. No one will deny that this beginning is a deviation from the usage of Tacitus, no one will deny further that this deviation is the more unaccountable from its striking resemblance to Cæsar's *Gallia est omnis divisa*, &c. So bald an imitation would certainly have been avoided by such a writer as Tacitus, though it is natural enough if he thought of no reader but himself."

3dly. The same absence of all communication between author and reader prevails throughout the book, except when some habitual turn indicates it, or where single sentences may have been subsequently inserted.

"4thly. The whole character of the book presents a want of solidity, of completeness, as belongs to general remarks and portraitures. What it contains are sketches, often singularly happy sketches; but nothing is wrought out. The outline only is given; the frames only are prepared. Observe, for instance, the few notices relative to Germany's geographical position, rivers, mountains, nature, and character, the doubtful notices of the sites of different nations. Impossible that Tacitus should have thus written, had he purposed a picture of Germany for the world, a *rationarium Germaniæ*. Other parts again are so circumstantial and so positive as not to accord with a whole, containing parts so loose and uncertain.

" 5thly. The whole work is in a manner taken out of time. In vain do we ask ourselves—when did the state of things described in the *Germania* exist in Germany? We find no fixed epoch. Sometimes we incline to think of an earlier, sometimes we are forcibly referred to a later age. It is no condition evolved by the changes of life, and extant at any definite period; it is rather a generalization of life, the ground-work, the permanent throughout all change."

The 6th, 7th, and 8th reasons are the apparent want of plan, or order in the book, instanced by the frequent introduction of reflexions, of irrelevant, or rather misplaced matter, suggested by a mere expression employed. The abruptness of some sentences, unlike any thing but memoranda; and finally, sentences, or portions of sentences in prose or verse, taken, without alteration or acknowledgement, from other authors.

" 9thly. The notices constituting the *Germania* are used in the Annals and History. Their impression is indisputably manifest in the account of the wars of Armin and Civilis. Parts are literally repeated, as, for instance, in the Annals, compare cap. 29, with Ann. iv. 12; cap. 31, with Ann. iv. 61; cap. 28, with Ann. xii. 27. Yet more occurs in the Histories. Other passages are improved, so as wholly to deviate from the *Germania*. And had we the rest of the Histories, it would perhaps appear that the whole of the *Germania* had been used. When, therefore, any contradiction appears between the *Germania* and the Annals or History, these last indubitably merit the preference upon single points, since they relate actions; but the general truth is in the *Germania*, which contains the permanent, the essence of German life, wherein those actions originated.

" But enough of indications! It would require a large treatise thoroughly to establish a view, which, for the present, can only solicit toleration and pardon."

We have already said that we do not propose entering into controversy for or against Luden's opinions, and we shall adhere to our determination now, notwithstanding the vivid interest attaching to every thing connected with the name of Tacitus. We cannot, however, quite forbear observing, that we have ourselves been struck with the unconnectedness of which Luden speaks, with the verbal repetitions and the occasional discrepancies, although without considering their bearings quite as profoundly, as critically, or as alarmingly, as our German historian. We shall next select, as our specimen of Luden's historical style, his History of Arminius, a favourite hero, whose adventures, since the rise of a more national patriotic spirit in Germany have again become a chosen subject for the national muse. We shall proceed as before, alternately abstracting and extracting.

Our diligent author first devotes a page and a half to an investigation of the character of Quinctilius Varus, from the accounts of different historians, from known facts, and from probabilities,

deciding that he was a man very much as men go, and that his idiosyncrasy had nothing to do with the catastrophe, which, entirely through the force of circumstances, occurred during his command of the German provinces. Germany, after the successes of Drusus and Tiberius, appeared to be tranquillized; peace and amicable intercourse between Germans and Romans prevailed, the former discovering an incipient taste for the higher cultivation and fine arts of the latter. It would thence be inferred at Rome, that the country was ripe for the establishment of the customary forms of provincial administration; and Varus was accordingly instructed to introduce them. This the *routinier* Varus, incapable of appreciating the difference between the worn-out Syrians and the youthfully vigorous Germans, set about as a common-place business. He observed the usual military, but no moral precautions. He left two legions under his nephew to guard the passage of the Rhine and secure his communication with Gaul, and advanced with three of Rome's best legions, six cohorts, three squadrons of cavalry, and a number of Gallic auxiliaries, in all 50,000 men, from the Rhine to the Lippe. In the country of the Cheruscans, upon the left bank of the Weser, he fixed a stationary camp, where he sat in prætorian dignity, issuing edicts of civil administration, imposing tributes, ordering contributions, investigating and judging the disputes of Germans with Romans or amongst themselves, according to foreign laws, pronouncing sentence in a foreign tongue, and inflicting corporal punishments undreamt of by the free natives, whom he was thus bending to the yoke. All this was enough to exasperate a gallant race, independently of the probable individual vexations and outrages practised by an insolent soldiery.

"Amongst the men who most deeply felt the whole weight of misfortune pressing upon their country, a youth named Armin stood by far the highest. He was the son of Segimer, a Cheruscan prince * * * When Armin placed himself at the head of his nation, he was twenty-five years of age. The beauty of his person, the strength of his arm, the keenness of his faculties, the promptitude of his judgment, have been extolled by his enemies; they have acknowledged that the fire of genius flashed from his eyes and animated his features. But no details of his earlier life have been transmitted to us. He had long been in the service of Rome, perhaps during the expedition of Tiberius. He now sojourned in the Roman camp, as the leader of one of the auxiliary bands which the Cheruscans were bound to supply. Rome had honoured him with the rights of citizenship, and with equestrian rank. Varus preferred him above all his fellow countrymen, and with him, for his sake, his father Segimer. It was the esteem which genius, energy, and activity must always meet with. In this youth the barbarian disappeared to the Roman eye, and only the distinguished man was seen."

Segestes, another Cheruscan prince, was one of those whom idleness, vanity, or blindness, had reconciled to the Roman yoke. He also had been honoured with the rights of citizenship, but was jealous of Armin's superiority of every description, and sought by calumnious accusations of falsehood and treachery, to ruin him in the opinion of Varus. Varus might possibly see through the motives of Segestes; or in his proud sense of Roman greatness he might disdain such insinuations; or he might be naturally unsuspicious. He rejected the information of Segestes, and continued to confide in Armin. The insurrection of a distant German nation, neither the name nor the seat of which are known, first disturbed the security of Varus. He broke up his camp, and summoning the German princes to accompany him, marched against the insurgents. But considering himself still in a friendly, or rather a subject land, he marched without the order or discipline requisite in the neighbourhood of an enemy. The legions moved at a distance from each other, separated and encumbered by their baggage, by women, children, and a crowd of other unwarlike and unarmed persons, who had gathered around the stationary camp, and would not be left behind.

"But when the adjacent German states beheld the advance of the Roman army, when the distant heard of it, the long-suppressed rage burst forth. A strong light flashed through the midnight darkness, enkindling the hearts of men. The cry of freedom rang from community to community, the cry of vengeance from district to district. Every man saw his own danger in the danger threatening his brother. One feeling impelled all to one resolve. The whole German people, as far as the tidings spread, rose like one man * * * Every where the Roman soldiers were surprised, every where the Roman citizens slain, and from all sides the *Landsturm** came roaring on to surround the Roman army, to check its march, to assault, to annihilate the foe, and deliver the common country. So universal was the inspiring indignation, that Sigismund, the son of Segestes, who had been sent by his father to serve at the altar of the Roman deities beyond the Rhine, tore off his sacerdotal fillet at the voice of his country, and hurried back across the Rhine to join his struggling brethren. Not Segestes himself remained unmoved—the torrent hurried him onwards with his people despite his previous blindness, despite his envy and hatred of Armin.

"Meanwhile the Romans leisurely pursued their march down the Weser, sensible only to the difficulties of the way, unconscious of the circle of woe that was rapidly closing around them. Varus, upon the first report of disorder and opposition amongst his German auxiliaries, issued a juridical summons to the ringleaders, either because his delusion was still undissolved, or, what is more likely, because he judged it needful to maintain a show of unalterable constancy. But the distress

* The rising of the population *en masse* at the call of government.

grew, the danger came nearer. The paths were already obstructed with large trees: the compatriot gods, favouring the pious enterprise, sent tempests and deluges of rain; the discomfort and shivering of the chilled body rapidly increased the anxiety rising upon the mind; and the shaken spirits were further harassed by ghastly apparitions in heaven and upon earth. Bloody passages already occurred between the Romans and the German auxiliaries accompanying the army."

Varus was now aware of his danger, but still affected unconsciousness, treating all as mere ordinary squabbles, and issuing useless orders for their suppression. The various evils continued to augment, and thus the army reached the defiles and quagmires of the Teutoberg forest. Then did Armin stand forward with his Cheruscans. His known character, or evident abilities and energies, procured him the chief command; and he felt that the embarrassment of the situation of the Romans rendered this the moment to effect their destruction.

"The Romans hindered, pressed, and weakened, by repeated attacks under his guidance, wearied by the forest, the wind, and the rain, and perhaps not less exhausted by hunger than by their growing anxiety, saw the day draw to a close, without bringing them nearer the end of their troubles. They once more attempted to fortify the camp they had pitched upon a clear space, but their strength and courage proved unequal even to this work of habitual discipline. The wonted fortifications, however deep the sense of their necessity, remained unfinished. But Armin did not assault the open camp during the night. His Germans likewise required rest, the enemy could not escape; and a nocturnal engagement might be hazardous from the mode of warfare of his countrymen, and from the total want of order amongst their hastily assembled masses.

"But when on the following morning the Roman army, discouraged or hopeless, broke up from its encampment, the projected attack began on all sides. Armin, stationing himself upon an eminence whence he could overlook the field, directed the efforts of his men by word and gesture, by shout and exhortation, and directed the shock of the wedge* to the point where he foresaw that it would fall most destructively. A fearful battle! The Romans in gloomy despair, fought for the last of earthly possessions, life; the Germans in joyous expectation for the first of blessings, liberty; both with the utmost exertion of which human nature is capable. On the one side the moan of suffering, the yell of agony; on the other, the battle song, the shout of triumph; both mingling in the splash of pouring rain,† and the howling of tempestuous winds! Varus was wounded. Overpowered by the pain of his wound, unmanned by the sense of calamity, discovering no chance of preservation, but perceiving in himself hereditary courage sufficient to brave death, he with

* The usual German form of battle array, or attack.

† In a note Luden expresses his doubts concerning this incessant bad weather, judging that the vanquished might deem it less mortifying to have been defeated by the elements than by men.

his own hand plunged his sword into his breast, thus at once escaping from the sight of inevitable misery, and from the just revenge of an enemy intoxicated with success. Many followed this example of despair; many lost all recollection in the terror of impending death; few were energetic enough for the resolve to seek for death in battle. Cejonius, one of the camp-prefects, would have purchased life by surrender, but his colleague Eggius prevented such a disgrace. Both fell honourably. Vala Numonius, Varus's legate, attempted to fly with the cavalry, but destruction overtook the fugitives. A very few accidentally escaped the common lot. At last, the multitude, deprived of their commanders, and rendered indifferent to life or death by long exertion and suffering, allowed themselves to be cut down without resistance. And now, when a hostile weapon was no longer seen, the slaughter ceased, the defenceless were made prisoners. Then did the inspired warriors send up from the ensanguined field an infinite shout of victory, a thanksgiving to the patron gods of their native land, a signal of recovered liberty to their wives and fathers.

Such is Luden's view of the great battle in the Teutoberg forest. Now follow the contrary statements of the Roman historians, who attribute the whole series of events from Varus's passing the Rhine, to a deep-laid conspiracy of the Germans, organized by Armin, and carried on and kept secret for three years, by which the Roman general was lured away from his resources. Against this our patriotic author argues upon the general principles of human nature, the ordinary course of human affairs, and the national character of the Germans. He observes moreover, that Tacitus, although he tells the same tale of treachery, refers it wholly to the authority of the renegade Segestes, concluding, "Varus fell a victim to fate and to the might of Arminius." Luden adds:

"The Roman authors undertook a tortuous work in a tortuous spirit. They endeavoured by inculpating the German nation, and Armin, its saviour and founder, to maintain the honour of the Roman arms, misused in unsuccessful attempts against God and nature. The duty of a German historian of the German nation is to defend and assert the holiest possession of that nation,—its honour, and to clear the founder of that nation from the stains which have now, for 1800 years, hung upon his name. This is so much the more his duty as he is able fully to refute such imputations, and need not meet them by counter charges.* * * The German nation avenged its wrongs and asserted its liberties, hurried on by the force of its own spirit, impelled to resolve and to act by the holiest feelings of the human heart. Armin served the Romans faithfully so long as his engagement lasted. He joined his countrymen with his whole soul when they burst the chain upon which that engagement hung; and he took the high station befitting him, when the force of circumstances, the pressure of the hour, brought on the decision of the great question, whether a German nation—whether liberty—should

thenceforward exist, or whether a universal slavery should enthral the world, stifling genius, virtue, and all that is great, noble, and beautiful? This was the conspiracy of the Germans, this the treachery of Armin."

Luden next endeavours to disprove the cruelties alleged by Roman survivors, to have been practised by the conquerors upon their prisoners. He allows that some few deeply outraged individuals might thus revenge themselves, but that the main body must have preserved their captives to till the soil; a business always devolved upon those whom Latin authors designate slaves, but modern Germans *leibeigene* or *hörigen*, the German terms for the worst degree of feudal villenage.

"When the first burst of passion, of rage, and revenge, of joy and rapture, uncontrollable in the intoxication of victory had subsided, Armin raised his voice amidst the sons of freedom. As in the hour of pressure he was the leader, so in the hour of victory he was the orator of his nation. What had been gained was now to be preserved. Cheruscans and Bructeri, Marsi and Chatti had fought the great fight in common. But it was a mere impulse of patriotism, irresistible in anxiety and danger, that, like blind Chance, had drawn them together. Nothing was accomplished, if every state, every warrior should now go their several ways to enjoy the booty, to employ the thrales obtained in the fight. What had originated in accident was to be maintained by reason. In this sense, over the corses of slaughtered foes, in the fair and proud moment of victory, spoke Armin of the German nation, of a German country. He found open ears and minds, and thus became the founder of a great confederation for common defence against a common enemy, now doubly to be dreaded after such disgrace. Armin himself became the head of the confederation, because, in the battle he had earned the highest meed of glory, because he governed men and things with the most potent genius.*** Armin sent the head of Varus to Marobod.* It was a token by which Marobod might learn that if his formidable position had enabled him with inactive might to preserve the German name untainted in the South, every spot had now been washed away in the North by battle and victory; that fame and power were great here as there; and that henceforward it would be proper to act in one sense, in one alliance. We know not what Armin said to Marobod; we know not what Marobod answered to Armin. But the token was understood. Marobod transmitted the head to Tiberius. The Romans might perceive that there existed one great German confederation, extending from the Danube to the Ocean."

The Germans now cleared the right bank of the Rhine of all Roman stations, but seem not to have thought of passing the river. And as Tiberius, whom Augustus hastily despatched to the left bank, in alarm as to their possible intentions, contented himself with re-establishing the strictest discipline amongst the

* Marobod had led a body of Marcomanni into the South of Germany, where, by conquest, he founded a considerable kingdom.

legions, and making one short excursion across the river after the earlier fashion, in which he does not appear to have seen an enemy, we learn little of the proceedings of the Germans. Luden, however, judges that the confederation produced by danger must have become relaxed in tranquillity, and that Armin's power and influence must have declined.

"Betwixt Armin, the deliverer of Germany, and Segestes, the blinded creature of Rome, arose a bitter enmity, which led to war and treachery. This enmity doubtless sprang from the irritation felt by Segestes, when he saw the man whom he had laboured to ruin by calumniating, crowned with glory, and idolized by the whole nation. He hated Armin because he was conscious of having fruitlessly as craftily plotted against him, and he persecuted him the more acrimoniously the higher he saw him raised above himself and his artifices. We know not the cause of the explosion. Armin was married to a daughter of Segestes, whose name, Thusnelda, we learn from Strabo only. The time of his marriage is unknown, its manner is enigmatical: according to Tacitus, he carried her off forcibly."

The improbability of Armin's having committed so lawless an act is discussed at great length, but no important fact is brought forward, save that Thusnelda's first and only child was unborn in the fifth year after the great battle, whence it seems probable that the marriage took place subsequently to that event. What is known is, that Segestes, a little before the death of Augustus, surprised Armin, seized him and Thusnelda, and for a while held them both in captivity. At this period the Roman legions upon the left bank of the Rhine were in a state of mutiny, provoked by their desire to raise Germanicus to the imperial throne instead of Tiberius; and the Cæsar, Germanicus, after having in a manner reduced them to obedience, sought to give a vent to their ill-humours by leading them across the boundary river to surprise the unprepared Marsi in their sleep, of whom they made a great slaughter, without incurring any loss. But the news of this incursion aroused the slumbering confederation, and, as Luden conjectures,

"awoke a longing for Armin, so that the hero of his country's liberty probably owed his own to the companions of his fame. He appeared once more at their head. But his wife was parted from him, remaining in her father's custody."

When the Romans had recrossed the Rhine, Armin attempted to recover Thusnelda out of her father's hands; but Segestes, through his son Sigismund, applied to Germanicus for assistance. The Cæsar detained Sigismund as a prisoner or a hostage, but hastened to the relief of his father, then besieged by Armin or his friends. He attacked and defeated the be-

siegers, delivered Segestes, recovered much of the booty taken upon the day of Varus's disaster, and captured Armin's wife and unborn heir. Segestes made a long speech to his deliverers, but was too insignificant, too much despised by his countrymen, to be valuable as an ally. He was sent across the Rhine by Germanicus, and Thusnelda bore her son in a Roman prison, to languish with herself in thraldom.

Armin, maddened by grief and rage at this complete loss of his wife and expected child, flew from state to state of the Confederation, imprecating curses upon the false Segestes, calling upon every German to arm in vengeance for the wrongs inflicted upon their chief, their brother. The Cheruscans and other allied nations obeyed his call, and his uncle, Inguiomer, for the first time gave them the sanction of his concurrence. Inguiomer was, like Armin and Segestes, a Cheruscan prince, (for every district had its own prince,) but his dominions lay remote from the Roman borders, and his consequence was enhanced in the eyes of friends and foes by distance. The Cæsar, fearing an attack, endeavoured to prevent it by again carrying the war into Germany. He sent one division of his army under Cæcina, by land to the banks of the Ems; embarked in person with the remainder; sailed, or rather rowed, for the mouth of the same river, which he entered, and landing, re-united his forces. The Chauci submitted to the terror of his arms. The Bructeri, according to a common German practice, removed or destroyed their property, leaving the enemy a desart to traverse. Germanicus advanced unchecked, and reached the Teutoberg forest, where he collected and interred the bones of the Roman legions that had lain five years unburied. The army raised a tumulus, or barrow, to their honour.

When this pious duty was discharged, the Cæsar proceeded to the Lippe, where he found Armin. The German leader fell back to the edge of a forest, and the Roman sent forward his cavalry to occupy the open ground; but Armin now turned suddenly upon the foe, and some ambushed troops, rushing forth at this signal, assailed them in flank and rear. The Roman cavalry were broken and fled, hurrying along with them the auxiliary cohorts sent by Germanicus to their support. The legions remained in battle array, and were not attacked. Nevertheless the Cæsar's plans seem to have been foiled, his high-raised hopes disappointed, and he began his retreat.

He himself re-embarked with his division, and returned as he had come, except that he suffered some loss through Roman inexperience of the ocean tides, landing his men upon ground left dry by the ebb, where they were surprised by the returning flood.

Cæcina had to retrace his steps by land, and experienced many of the evils that had attended the march of Varus. Armin and the Germans attacked his troops in every difficult pass. The Romans were cut down in numbers, they lost their baggage, and, upon one occasion, they were indebted for the power of pressing forwards, solely to the Germans' eagerness for plunder. The next day the same scenes were repeated, the progress of the Romans being still less, and thus it would probably have continued, to the consummation of a second Teutoberg forest catastrophe, had Armin's authority been equal to the emergency; but Inguiomer was impatient of his nephew's prudent dilatoriness: he urged the immediate storming of the Roman camp, at once to complete the annihilation of the enemy, and to secure a larger booty in better condition. This advice suited the temper of the impetuous warriors: Armin was overruled, and the camp attacked. This operation created a good deal of confusion amongst the disorderly Germans, of which Roman tactics and discipline enabled Cæcina to avail himself. He broke through with the remnant of his division, and made his way to the Rhine; but tidings of their disasters had preceded them, and the bridge by which they were to cross would have been broken down, and their destruction thus rendered inevitable, had it not been preserved by the firmness of Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, and grand-daughter of Augustus. The Germans did not pursue their advantage, hindered probably by dissensions betwixt Armin and Inguiomer.

Germanicus now determined to transport his whole army by water, thus avoiding the evils seemingly inseparable from a march by land, and prepared a considerable fleet. Again he directed his course to the mouth of the Ems, landed and proceeded towards the Weser. Upon the left bank of this river the Romans halted; upon the right was drawn up the German army, with Armin at its head. Armin accosted the Romans across the river, to request that the Cæsar would allow him an interview with his brother, who had remained in the Roman service, and to whom Latin authors give the name of Flavius. Germanicus complied, and the brothers met, with the Weser flowing between them.

"Armin first accosted his brother, inquiring, in accents of horror and sympathy, how he had lost his eye? Flavius named the place and the battle. Armin, in hopes of recalling his brother from his delusion, inquired further, what had been the reward of so great a sacrifice? Flavius replied, that his pay had been increased; that he had received a chain, a crown, and other military decorations. Armin, not without bitter mockery, depreciated all these things, as the paltry wages of labour,

as the common pay of servitude. Flavius, compelled to defend the whole produce of his life, strove to convince Armin of the madness of offering resistance to Rome. He spoke of Rome's greatness, of the Cæsar's power; of the hard lot of conquered nations; and the mildness displayed towards such as submitted. Even Armin's wife, and the son she had borne him, were not, he said, hostilely treated. Armin rejoined more urgently; 'More than once has Rome's greatness bowed before the strength of German nations; even thy Cæsar's might has repeatedly yielded to German arms; and now will victory again be with us and our cause. Come over! our country has the first right to her sons; only her miserable or criminal offspring will endure the overthrow of her hereditary liberty. The Gods of Germany recal thee! The mother whose womb bore us both implores thee conjointly with me. So long as thou abidest with the Romans must thou be a deserter, a traitor, in the eyes of friends, of kindred, and of the world. Come over, and be one of thy nation's leaders to victory and glory.' Flavius burst into a rage at the energy of this fraternal exhortation, and the more so for its being shouted to him in the face of the Roman army, within ear-shot of spies and eaves-droppers. Furiously he called for his horse and arms, and would have crossed the river to fulfil his unhappy destiny by trying his sword in single combat against his brother. Stertinius hardly withheld the wrath-inflamed man; and Armin, postponing all personal considerations to the interests of his country, referred the decision to the impending battle."

The following day the Germans again appeared upon the right bank of the Weser. Germanicus prepared to cross the river, and sent over his cavalry, together with his Batavian allies, who were practised swimmers, to drive back the Germans and protect the construction of the bridges. The Germans, always ready to facilitate an engagement, did not, it should seem, dispute their passage; but a conflict ensued upon the right bank, in which most of the Batavians, with their leader Cariobald, fell. The Germans then retired into a forest, and suffered the Romans to cross uninterruptedly. The noise of men and horses thronging in the forest, and intelligence imparted by a deserter, led the Cæsar to apprehend a nocturnal attack from a formidable gathering of the confederated nations. He made his preparations accordingly, sought to encourage his troops by depreciating the Germans, and listening unseen to the conversation of the soldiers, satisfied himself of their alacrity for the engagement, an alacrity professedly inspired by gratitude for his kindness, affability, and generosity. The expected night-attack was not made. What prevented it, and how the Germans spent the night, are points unknown to history. But Luden images to himself and his readers the probable anxieties of Armin, and his exhortation to his army in the morning, when both generals gave the signal to engage.

This battle is described by Tacitus; but Luden, notwithstanding his professed admiration for the Prince of Historians, as he calls him, cavils at the whole account, which, as he avers, rests less upon the authority of Tacitus than upon that of the Cæsar Germanicus, from whose statements the former must have derived his information, and who, having undertaken his German expeditions against the inclination—if not the express injunctions—of his imperial uncle Tiberius, and being upon the whole unsuccessful, would inevitably be the more desirous of redeeming his reputation by partial victories. We must confess that the account given by Tacitus of the two divisions of the German army flying, the one backwards, the other, as it should seem, forwards, is somewhat perplexing to ordinary apprehensions; but we doubt whether our readers would thank us for detailing all our enthusiastic historian's reasons for believing that Germanicus, who by the bye is no favourite of his, saw his eight eagles in a waking vision; that the battle, so far from being unbloody, was hard-fought; that the division which fled forwards really gained the advantage; and that the failure of Armin's plans, with his consequent discomfiture, arose from the unbridled impetuosity with which this forward-flying Cheruscan division attacked prematurely. The certain facts are, that Armin was wounded, and that the Romans remained masters of the field, where they erected a trophy in honour of their victory.

What is equally certain is, that the Germans were not so thoroughly routed but that they were ready to renew the conflict, even before Armin was sufficiently recovered from his wound to resume the command, which in consequence of his incapacity devolved upon his uncle. This second battle gives birth to a second disquisition like the last. Tacitus allows this one to have been hardly contested, since he states that Germanicus, in the hour of pressure, taking off his helmet in order to be the better known by his men, hurried from post to post exhorting them to perseverance; and that Armin, notwithstanding his wound, did the same. Tacitus further asserts that night put an end to the engagement; that the Romans, in the camp which one legion had fortified during the continuance of the battle, erected a trophy of captured arms, dedicated to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus, and recording their subjugation of the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe; immediately afterwards, though but little past Midsummer, beginning their retreat. Upon reaching the banks of the Ems the army re-embarked. The fleet was surprized, we are told, by a violent tempest, in which many vessels, a large part of the troops, and almost all the horses and baggage perished. We need hardly add Luden's conclusion that upon this occasion his

countrymen gained the victory, at least remained in possession o the field, and that the tempest was merely an excuse of the Roman leader to account for his losses.

In the autumn, Germanicus, to revive the spirit of his army, undertook two simultaneous devastating expeditions across the Rhine, leading the one in person, and committing the other to Caius Silius. Both committed great ravages without encountering an enemy. The Cæsar, who had set his heart upon the conquest of Germany, meditated greater exertions for the next campaign; but his ambitious projects were finally checked. Tiberius, either jealous of the reputation—or fearful of the power—his nephew was acquiring, or perhaps impatient of his thus lavishing Roman blood in fruitless if not disastrous wars, recalled him to Rome, and after allowing him the honour of a triumph over the German nations between the Elbe and the Rhine, sent him to Asia, where he died, as was supposed, by poison. The principal ornaments of Germanicus's triumph were the wife and son of Armin, of whose subsequent fate nothing is known, except that Tacitus says, the son, Thumelicus, grew up at Ravenna, where *ludibriis conflictatus est*, which Luden translates, was exposed to insult and outrage.

After the recal of Germanicus, the Roman commanders, by the orders of Tiberius, confined themselves to precautionary measures against German aggression. But the Germans meditated not as yet such aggression. Content to enjoy their own freedom, or perhaps engrossed by intestine discord, they sought not to emancipate the trans-Rhenane German and Belgian provinces from the yoke of Rome. Of their history for some centuries from this period we know little, the Romans deeming the squabbles of insignificant barbarians unworthy of notice; and their domestic records were probably lost with the songs collected by Charlemagne. Some few hints touching Armin, however, Tacitus has preserved, and with the use Luden makes of them we shall conclude our extracts from his History of the German Nation.

The first of the remaining events of Armin's life known to us is his quarrel with Marobod. Marobod, as we have said, was king of the Marcomanni, and by conquest sovereign of an extensive realm, or rather perhaps confederation, in Southern Germany. Whilst the free northern confederation headed by Armin was struggling against the power of Rome, the authority exercised by a German monarch, however arbitrary, could be no object of jealousy or dissatisfaction; and Armin, after the victory in the Teutoberg forest, had evidently courted an alliance with Marobod. The recal of Germanicus, and the subsequent forbearance

of the Romans, changed the relative position of the German leaders.

"Armin was, according to the nature of man, the author of the contest. Marobod, as an absolute prince, although by no means indifferent to the gradual enlargement of his dominions, might easily rest satisfied with his situation. Armin, on the contrary, as the free chief of a free confederation, must necessarily desire and strive to effect the union of all Germans in one and the same association. But with regard to Marobod such an attempt involved a contradiction. He could not place himself under Armin; Armin could not be willing to own him as his superior, and side by side there was no room for them."

This difficulty, combined with the incompatibility of Marobod's monarchy with the free Cheruscan Confederation, and, as Luden imagines, the discord-promoting arts of Rome, produced dissensions, only to be decided by the sword; and in the year of our Lord 19, the North-west of Germany marched against the South-east. But neither army was unanimous. The people subject to Marobod inclined to Armin, attracted by his splendid fame, and by the liberty of the Cheruscan Confederation; whilst some of the princes who followed Armin were at once, perhaps, envious of that very fame, and dazzled by the brilliancy of Marobod's station. Amongst these last was Inguiomer, who had long been jealous of his nephew's pre-eminence, and now with his whole force deserted the Cheruscans to unite with the Marcomans. The place where the kindred foes encountered has not been ascertained. Each leader sought to animate his army by a harangue; Marobod endeavouring to transfer the reputation of Armin to Inguiomer, who was now his own ally; and Armin recapitulating the achievements of the Cheruscans and their allies against the dreaded Romans, whilst he reviled Marobod for basely striving through a servile submission to Rome to revel undisturbed in his regal pomp. In the hard-fought battle that followed, the right wing of either army was defeated, and night interrupted the mutual slaughter, leaving both parties in their original positions. With the dawn of morning the Cheruscans prepared to renew the engagement; but Marobod had shunned it by retiring to a new position upon a hill in his rear. This retrograde movement appeared to many of his followers tantamount to a defeat; and such numbers consequently deserted, that he was constrained to retreat into Bohemia, the chief seat of his power; and the war seems to have been for a while suspended. Marobod, eager for its prosecution, sought for assistance in an alliance with Rome. But Tiberius met his advances coldly, reproached him with his own neutrality during the recent wars between the Romans and the Cheruscan Confederation, and sent his son Drusus into the adjacent Illyrian

provinces, manifestly to watch, direct, and profit by the course of events. Drusus, whose mission was of course to act against either party, as should seem best, appears to have craftily induced Marobod to cross the Danube, and trust himself, nearly unarmed and unattended, in the power of the Romans. He did not recross it, but was sent into Italy, where he passed the remainder of his life in a sort of rather honourable captivity.

The fate of Armin was not subjected to the caprices, even if it were hastened by the arts of his natural enemies, although it was decided much about the same time as Marobod's. From Tacitus alone do we learn the catastrophe, and Luden, as usual, distrusts the accuracy of his narration. Tacitus mentions a proposal made by a Prince of the Chatti to Tiberius to poison Armin, and rejected by the Emperor with a noble indignation similar to that with which such a proposal for poisoning Pyrrhus was rejected by the Roman Senate in its prouder days. A comparison by which our patriotic historian conceives that his great predecessor meant to intimate his disbelief of the rejection. For his own part at least, Luden believes only so much of the tale as goes to prove that the idea of murdering Armin had been entertained at Rome. Tacitus adds, that Armin, aiming at sovereignty, was opposed by the free spirit of his countrymen, attacked in arms, and whilst struggling with fluctuating success, was slain by the artifices of his kindred.

" Except these few words we have not the slightest hint. With these does Armin, the man of such mighty deeds, disappear from history. But upon these no conjecture can be founded, from them no conclusion can be deduced. * * * It was his happy fortune to meet death in the flower of his age, in the vigour of his powers, in the plenitude of his fame, in the full consciousness of his deeds, without spot, disgrace, or error, pure and free beyond all historical prototype, a great example for every generous spirit in days of oppression and anguish, a brilliant star in the night of time. His task was fulfilled. His country was saved, her liberty was assured. But a sorrowful and inexorable destiny lay upon his beloved wife and upon the son whom he had never seen, whom he must never hope to see. He had no further ties to life. * * * So far as the history of the human race goes, no nation can boast of such an early age as the Germans, of such a man, and of such deeds. And yet how different might all appear, how much greater, more beautiful and more sublime, if in addition to the reports transmitted from the enemy's camp, we possessed the German traditions of Armin and his faithful followers. * * * * It is from the annals of the hostile power that Armin and his times have passed into the annals of the German people. Rome hated the living man, and when dead gave him not due fame. Rome had cause for her hatred; she trod her own path, and fulfilled her own

destiny. Amongst us Armin wants not for admirers and eulogists; but we should honour him more if a Tacitus arose amongst our enemies who bore witness to the world and to posterity that we are worthy of him. Then will the last hour of Germany strike, when none is found amongst her children who wishes to live and to die like Armin."

Enough, and we trust our readers will not say more than enough, of Arminius and Luden. We have given more pages to them than we had intended, seduced by feelings in which we would fain hope for some little sympathy; *i. e.* a real love for the genuine enthusiasm of the historian, a thrilling sense of the romantic and patriotic interest glowing around the earliest Hero of Germany, through the dim haze with which time has veiled him, and a warm delight in the fervid admiration that has impelled the national German poets of our own day to sing his exploits. Our bosoms do not equally yearn towards the heroes of the subsequent struggles between the Empire and Germany, and without bestowing a thought upon the barbarian Emperors who successively arose, or upon the conquests of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Burgundians, Longobards or Lombards, and Saxons, we shall at once proceed to the Franks and their long-haired Sicambrian kings of the Merovingian dynasty, who according to their own early Chronicles derived their origin from Troy; Faramund being a grandson of old Priam, notwithstanding the little chronological difficulty of his being likewise a contemporary of Attila, the king of the Huns. And with the Franks we shall take up Professor Mannert.

The Franks first appeared upon the stage in the last quarter of the second century. From this time the names of nations with which we have previously been familiar, as Cheruscans, Chatti, &c., are gradually superseded by those of Franks, Saxons, Allemans, and Goths, which, with the exception of the last, the name of a distinct tribe from the north-east, seem to be the appellations assumed by different confederations. As the Franks are first mentioned during the reign of the philosophic and pacific Antonines, Mannert concludes that their confederation was not the result of hostile aggression from Rome, but of internal wars; and these wars he conceives to have been chiefly of self-defence against the Saxon confederation, which, occupying the north of Germany, sought to extend itself westward to the Rhine. The nations lying between the Saxons and that river, found it necessary to unite in order to resist their northern invaders, and did so successfully, under their new name of Franks. The Saxons then turned their energies to the sea, and became formidable pirates, whilst the Franks in the consciousness of power invaded Gaul, and incorporated the first and second *Germania* and *Belgium* of the Romans with themselves.

About the year 500, Clovis, or Chlodwig, his proper Teutonic name, by reducing the several Frank principalities under his own sceptre, and conquering the last remnant of the Western Roman Empire in Gaul, is held to have founded the French monarchy. His Frank kingdom was, nevertheless, by no means commensurate with modern France, consisting of the northern German provinces on probably both banks of the Rhine, of the present kingdom of the Netherlands, and of so much of France as lies north of the Loire, with the exception of Britanny, where large bodies of Britons, expelled from their insular home by the Saxons, had established themselves, and long maintained their independence. Of the southern half of France, the larger part situated to the west of the Rhone was included in the Visigothic kingdom of Spain; whilst the provinces to the east of that river were held, together with Savoy and Switzerland, by the Burgundians. Chlodwig attacked both. Against the Burgundians he effected little or nothing; but he was more successful against their western neighbours. Assisted by the hatred which the Catholic natives entertained towards their Arian masters, (the Franks were the only orthodox barbarians,) he before his death reduced the Visigothic dominions in Gaul to the single province of Languedoc, incorporating all the rest in his Frank realm. His sons and grandsons in time not only subdued Burgundy, but brought many German states, as the Thuringians, Allemans, and Bavarians, into complete feudal subjection.

The sovereignty of the Merovingian dynasty is, almost uninterruptedly, a scene of reckless, one might really fancy of unconscious cruelty, of moral and political profligacy, from which the mind recoils in disgust. Wherefore, as we are not bound to narrate its loathsome annals, we shall dismiss this period with the single remark, that the incessant division of the realm amongst the sons of every deceased king, constantly severing the eastern provinces, under the name of Austrasia, from the western, or Neustria, tended much to prepare the way for the subsequent separation of France and Germany, by promoting two distinct nationalities: since Austrasia being inhabited entirely by Germans, (a few towns upon the left of the Rhine, that had been Roman colonies, excepted,) remained German pure and unadulterated, whilst in Neustria and the western portion of Burgundy, Franks, Goths, and Burgundians being thinly intermingled with colonized Romans, and Romanized Gauls, amalgamated with their more numerous subjects, conformed insensibly to their manners, becoming more polished and more corrupt, learned to speak their language, (a barbarous Latin, which slowly formed itself, through the intermediate state of the *langue Romane* of the

Troubadours, into modern French,) and in process of time lost in the French character almost every trace of their German origin.

We come now to the vigorous and genuinely German Carlovingians; and from the history of their rise, which may, we conceive, be less familiarly known to the general reader than their more brilliant era, the reign of Charlemagne, we shall take our specimen of Mannert's mode of treating his subject, alternately abstracting and translating as before.

The Carlovingians, or Pippins, were a wealthy and noble Netherland family, whose landed domains comprised nearly the whole tract of country between Liege and Holland. The first mention of them occurs during the final contest of Brunhildis, (called Brunechild by Mannert,) in behalf of her great grandson, Sigibert the Second, of Austrasia, against Chlotar the Second, of Neustria, which was decided in favour of the latter by Arnulf, Bishop of Metz, the most influential man in Austrasia, who, from enmity to the old Queen, induced a large body of the nobles, with PIPPIN at their head, to join the Neustrians. The consequence of their defection was the defeat of Brunhildis's army, the death of the royal family of Austrasia, (the old Queen's being attended with circumstances of the most atrocious cruelty,) and the reunion of the whole Frank monarchy under Chlotar the Second.

But the union of the monarchy under one king did not now imply its union under one administration. Austrasia retained her separate *Major domus*, an officer who had now become rather the actual sovereign than the prime minister of the kingdom he ruled. The first Major domus of Austrasia appointed by Chlotar was one Rado; but he quickly disappears from the annals of the times, and is succeeded by Pippin, strengthened by a family connexion with Bishop Arnulf, whose son Adalgisil married Pippin's daughter Begga: a marriage no wise disreputable to the Carlovingians, inasmuch as married nobles, fathers of large families, frequently entered the church late in life for the sake of wealthy bishoprics. But indeed the celibacy of the clergy was a law which in those early days it was found so difficult to enforce amongst the German nations, that the chroniclers have not thought it worth while to inform us whether Adalgisil was born before or after his father's taking orders. These two allies, thus wielding the temporal and spiritual power, now governed Austrasia in fact independently, though nominally under a Merovingian king; and after a few years, choosing (it is hard to conjecture why) that this king should be a separate one of their own, they compelled Chlotar to appoint his infant son, Dagobert, king of Austrasia.

Chlotar retained a nominal sovereignty over his son, which might have been hought derogatory to the dignity of Austrasia.

But what was only nominal was not considered so deeply, we imagine, in the seventh as it is in the nineteenth century, and that Chlotar enjoyed no power over his son's kingdom which could in any manner controul the free-agency of the Major domus and his episcopal colleague, may be judged from the following anecdote:—

"The young monarch had been taught by the influence of the reverend Bishop Arnulf, of the Major Domus Pippin, and of the great men of their faction, to detest Chrodoald, an Austrasian noble and a member of the illustrious family of the Agilolfingas, whom they had represented to him as having amassed immoderate wealth, as rapacious and overbearing. Chrodoald's death was decreed; but he fled to King Chlotar, to negotiate a reconciliation through his means. The old king" (a curious epithet for a monarch who did not live to be forty-five,) "obtained a promise that his petitioner's life should be spared on condition of his improvement. But for this no time was allowed him, his head being struck off upon his reaching Treves. Chlotar's intervention in Austrasia was no longer of any avail. This private quarrel with a great man of the opposition is the more deserving of historical notice, from its being the first time that the family of the Agilolfingas* appears by name. We have often before seen Dukes of the Allemans personally interfering in Austrasian affairs, but never any of the royal or rather ducal family of the Bavarians, who must long have been part of the Frank monarchy, ere a branch of the Agilolfingas could appear amongst the most extensive Austrasian landowners; and we learn from subsequent history that a large part of the present Wetterau was the property of Chrodoald, inasmuch as we find his son possessing it as his patrimony."

Under the tutelage of Bishop Arnulf and Pippin, Dagobert's separate reign in Austrasia was energetic and prosperous; and upon the death of his father Chlotar, he was acknowledged King of Neustria and Burgundy, the duchy of Aquitaine, consisting of the provinces that had formerly belonged to the Visigoths, being given to his younger brother Charibert. But now the aspect of affairs changed, Bishop Arnulf died, and Pippin lost his influence, to which the Neustrian Major domus Æga succeeded. Æga is described as a wise and good man, and the chief transactions of his government were the wars carried on with the Sclavonian nations for the protection of Austrasia; nevertheless his original subjects presently conceived an aversion to Dagobert, which could only be appeased by his appointing his infant son Sigibert, King of Austrasia, sending him to Metz, the usual residence of the Merovingian sovereigns of that kingdom, and committing him to the superintendance of Chunibert, Bishop of Cologne, and of Pippin's son-in-law Adalgisil. These regents were presently joined by Pippin himself, and for a short time the govern-

* The Dukes of Bavaria were always chosen from the Agilolfinga family.

ment prospered as previously to the disfavour of the able Major domus.

The death of Pippin produced general confusion. His son Grimoald and Adalgisil co-operated strenuously for the preservation of their joint authority, but a strong party was formed against them by Radulf, Duke of Thuringia. Such contests for power were decided in those days, not by the votes of Lords or Commons, nor even by court intrigue, but by the swords of partizans. The political antagonists met at the head of their respective armies, Grimoald and Adalgisil carrying the young king with them. The treachery of some of their adherents turned the fortune of the day against them; but they still retained possession of Sigibert's person, and the benefit derived by Radulf from his victory was not ascendancy in Austrasia, but a degree of independence as Duke of Thuringia.

At court the influence of the Pippin family increased daily. Of Adalgisil we hear no more; but Grimoald gradually got rid of his various opponents, and in the year 640 obtained the post of Major domus.

"Meanwhile Sigibert had ripened to manhood, and was already the father of a son; it was time he should die,* being in the twenty-first year of his age, and the eighteenth of his nominal reign. Grimoald now deemed himself so secure that he ventured, through the instrumentality of the Bishop of Poictiers, to send away the baby-prince, Dagobert, to Scotland or Ireland, spread a report of his death, and proclaimed his own son Childebert king, under pretence of the deceased Sigibert's having adopted him. By this violent measure many of the crooked paths to the throne would have been shortened; but it failed. Men's minds were too much accustomed to the glory of the Merovingians to bear the transition to a short-haired† race without more preparation. Streams of blood were yet to flow, ere gradually such an idea could gain admittance; and even Grimoald's partizans do not appear to have concurred with him on this occasion. He was fraudulently overpowered without any one's moving to his assistance; was carried a prisoner to King Chlodwig of Neustria, and thrown into a dungeon, where he found the end of his life. The fate of his son Childebert is unknown to me."

The Pippin family was now thrown for a while into the back ground. Chlodwig the Second was acknowledged king of the whole realm, a separate Major domus of a different race being chosen to govern the German half. Upon Chlodwig's death

* This was the regular lot of the latter Merovingian Kings; and considering that their history is transmitted to us by Carlovingian Chronicles, certainly offers ground of suspicion against those who profited by their deaths.

† Was there in those days no substitute for Macassar oil that could promote the growth of Childebert's short hair? Bear's grease was surely not wanting, but perhaps no one knew its use.

Austrasia and Neustria were again divided between two of his sons; and afterwards, upon the death of their King Childerick, the Austrasians applied to Wilfrid, Bishop of York, to negotiate the return of the royal exile Dagobert. Dagobert came, and was at first well received, but ere long murdered, at the instigation, it is said, of his bishops and nobles. And now the Pippins recovered their power, not again to lose it, until they in their turn should degenerate as the Merovingians had done before them. Pippin of Heristall, (so called in history from his family estate near Liege,) the son of Adalgisil and Begga, and consequently the grandson of Bishop Arnulf and of the elder Pippin, together with Martin, another grandson of Arnulf's, now took the lead in Austrasia, supported by all the malcontent nobles. Ebruin, Major domus of Neustria, with his King Theuderich, marched against and defeated them; Martin fled to Laon.

"Thither repaired Agilbert, Bishop of Paris, and Riol, Bishop of Rheims, for the purpose of luring him to court, by pledging their oaths for his security. A Frank was not to be duped by an ordinary oath; even when sworn upon the Bible, he knew that it was broken and laughed at. But when a shrine containing the relics of any celebrated saint was brought forward, an oath taken thereon was deemed binding, because a firm conviction was entertained that the martyr himself would instantly avenge a perjury which thus became a personal offence. So did the bishops swear, and Martin, feeling himself perfectly secure, went to court, where Ebruin immediately put him to death. When complaint was made of the perjury, the bishops proved that they had indeed sworn upon the shrine, but had first carefully taken out the relics."

The pious fraud was of little use, as Pippin could not be ensnared like his cousin, and remained alone at the head of the Austrasian government. After some vicissitudes he gained, A.D. 687, a decided victory over the Neustrian King Theuderich, and his new Major domus, Berchar, at Tistri, near St. Quentin: Pippin entered Paris as a conqueror, but offered no injury to the king beyond seizing his treasures, and did not even take upon himself the office of Major domus, when Berchar was murdered by treacherous friends. Contenting himself with appointing a Neustrian partizan of his own to the vacant post, he returned to Austrasia, and governed that state untroubled by any separate king, although acknowledging the sovereignty of Theuderich. In process of time he made his second son, Grimoald, Major domus of Neustria, and the eldest, Drogo, Duke of either Champagne or Burgundy,* and was thus really master of the whole Frank realm.

* Which of the two it was, is matter of great dispute, because Burgundy had never been a duchy. But Champagne would have been nothing for Pippin's eldest son; and as a Major domus was an unaccustomed officer in Burgundy, we do not see why Drogo should not have had the third distinct kingdom with a new title.

But Pippin had the misfortune of losing both his sons, nor did they even leave him the consolation of lawful heirs to their greatness—an illegitimate infant child of Grimoald's, Theudoald, was all that remained of these late mighty rulers. To this boy the dying Pippin endeavoured to assure the inheritance of his power; and his able and energetic widow Plechtrud or Bilichtrud, a Bavarian Princess, assuming the regency for her grandson, maintained herself in full authority. Theudoald, however, did not prove long-lived; and upon his death came forward the celebrated Charles Martel, from whom his family derive the patronymic Carlovingian. Charles was the son of Pippin by a second wife; for Christianity had not hitherto abrogated the old German privilege allowed to princes of marrying more than one consort, as matter of state or policy, not of appetite; and Pippin, anxious for more sons, had thus espoused the high-born Alpheida, whom the ecclesiastical chroniclers, however, treat as merely a concubine, and whom the influence of the clergy, or of Plechtrud, prevailed upon him to repudiate after she had borne him two sons. The eldest of these, Charles, Plechtrud held in custody during her grandson's life. Upon Theudoald's death she had no further motive for confining, and probably released him, although the chroniclers attribute his liberation to the immediate intervention of angels. However it was effected, the Austrasians gladly welcomed the youthfully blooming son of their old ruler.

They wanted such a leader; and his hereditary talents were forthwith put to the proof; Austrasia was invaded by the combined arms of the Neustrians, the Saxons, and the Frieslanders. Charles was defeated and put to flight. But Plechtrud appears to have purchased the retreat of the enemy, who had besieged her in Cologne, with a part of Pippin's treasures; and the following year Charles found himself strong enough to retaliate by the invasion of Neustria. King Chilperic led an army to oppose him, and the enemies encountered near Cambray, where, after some fruitless negotiation, a battle was fought. Charles defeated and routed the Neustrians, pursuing them as far as Paris, but made no further use of his victory. He returned to Cologne, where Plechtrud delivered up to him the remainder of his father's treasures, and retired with her daughter, his half-sister, to Bavaria.

Charles now set up a separate King of Austrasia, Chlotar the Fourth, respecting whose birth we are uninformed, (of course it was Merovingian,) and under his auspices again invaded Neustria. Chilperic had recourse to Eudo, Duke of Aquitaine, who is conceived to have been a grandson of Charibert, the brother of Dagobert the First. Chilperic confirmed Eudo in the posses-

sion of his duchy, loaded him with presents, and besought his assistance. Eudo led an army to his support; but A. D. 719,

"Charles routed the allied forces near Soissons, who all fled in the utmost disorder into Aquitaine, carrying with them however the royal treasure. The whole conduct of Charles, though clearly known to us only in detached and prominent points recorded by the continuator of Fredegar, displays so well combined and well digested a plan, as could hardly have been anticipated from his youth and inexperience. With reasonable expectation of a happy result, might he have pursued the beaten and scattered enemy into Aquitaine; but he did not pursue them. He remained upon the Loire, procured his own election as Major domus of Neustria and Burgundy, entered into negotiation with all his adversaries collectively, and concluded a treaty affording security and advantage to all parties. Charles acknowledged Chilperic the Second as King of the Franks, whereupon his Chlotar died;* Duke Eudo obtained peace, and the recognition of his sovereignty, in return for which he delivered Chilperic into Charles's hands; the former Major domus, Raginfried, was made Count of Anjou, and retained uninterrupted possession of his county, although his conduct occasionally compelled Charles to make war upon him. A universal peace suddenly prevails; and Charles, the ruler of the re-united Frank monarchy, entitles himself Major domus of the Franks, Duke, and sometimes Prince, of the Austrasians. Austrasia would have no Neustrian king, consequently no separate Major domus. Charles was, under whatever title, the freely elected ruler of the Austrasians."

The condition of the Merovingian kings was now changed. They no longer took the field at the head of their armies; but with the least possible show of royalty, were kept in a species of confinement in a country house, which they were only permitted to quit at stated times, to receive foreign embassadors, and to preside over the assemblies of the nation, or rather of the nobles and warriors, in the fields of March or of May, which it should seem had previously fallen into disuse, and been revived by Charles or his father. Upon these occasions the captive king was brought, it is said, in a carriage (a waggon probably, for we hardly conceive there were any other,) drawn by oxen, and driven by a servant clad in the garb of a peasant. On his arrival, he was placed upon a throne, with the Major domus by his side, performed the external functions of royalty, delivering the speeches dictated by the Major domus, and was then re-conducted to his villa in the same form in which he had come from it. This mode of conveyance, Mannert, in common with most other historians, considers as intended to degrade the Merovingian kings in the eyes of their subjects, and thus prepare the way for a change of dynasty. Luden, more subtly, argues that the actual rulers

* Was he one of the parties to whom this treaty afforded security and advantage?

would have disgraced themselves in the opinion of foreign powers, and insulted the national warriors, by producing the nominal sovereign under circumstances of contumely; that if the Merovingians did still possess influence or interest with the nation, they could not safely have been insulted; that if they possessed neither, they would not have been permitted to wear the crown during another half century; and he concludes that the team of oxen, &c. is either an idle story invented in after times, or was the remnant of some old national custom, not mentioned by earlier writers, only because it was universally and familiarly known when they wrote.*

Charles was now the acknowledged master of the Frank monarchy; he was addressed by the Pope as Prince of the Franks; and he further secured to himself the oddly hereditary rights of his family to an independent and uncontrolled prime ministership by marrying his niece, the daughter of Pippin's daughter by Plechtrud, his first, and in fact only lawful wife. But Charles did not enjoy his sovereignty in peace. Upon his eastern frontier the Sclavonian nations harassed the southern provinces, as the heathen Saxons and Frieslanders did the northern. At home, several Burgundian nobles, though too weak to rebel openly against the potent Major domus, took advantage of his being occupied with foreign wars to elude his authority, and Eudo of Aquitaine endeavoured to establish his own absolute independence by means of an alliance with the Saracens; who, having conquered the Visigoths, were at this time the sovereigns of Spain. Against these external and internal foes Charles was invariably successful; although to be so he was obliged to take the field incessantly against one or another. But the great, the splendid feature of his government, was his war against the Saracens of Spain, and the ever-memorable victory by which he finally repulsed their repeated invasions of France, and thus, perhaps, saved Europe from Mahometanism.

Charles was first called upon to oppose these dreaded—and as it was believed irresistible—children of the desert, in defence of his rebellious vassal, the Duke of Aquitaine.

"Eudo was soon taught to feel that an alliance with the sworn foe of the Christian name was an impossibility.† To the former Moslem

* We shall not deviate from our resolution of waiving the discussion of these novel views of Luden, but we cannot refrain from observing, that in the present case his opinion is also that of the learned and philosophical Dr. Jacob Grimm, in his *Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer* (German Legal Antiquities).

† Such alliances were afterwards frequent, and it must be remembered that Eudo made a mistake. He gave his daughter in marriage to Munuza, Governor of Saragossa, and like himself a subject aspiring to sovereignty. When the Emir of Spain had subdued the rebellious Munuza, Eudo's connection with him was necessarily a cause of Moslem enmity, not friendship.

generals succeeds the enterprising Abderrahman; irresistibly he presses forward over the Pyrenees of the Basques, defeats the opposing Duke Eudo at the confluence of the Dordogne and Garonne, and devastating and plundering every thing, but especially the churches, rapidly possesses himself of the whole open country, even beyond Poitiers. His desires now fix themselves upon the richly endowed Church of St. Martin at Tours, without the slightest consideration of the circumstance that this city belonged not to Aquitaine, but to the dominions of the West Franks. The whole Christian world was his enemy.

"But now the ever-ready Charles appeared as his antagonist, with his well ordered Frank troops: Charles's aid had been implored by Duke Eudo, and he required not solicitation to march against the common foe. The two armies met between Tours and Poitiers, and for seven days did they remain in position observing each other. To the Franks the rapid evolutions of the Saracens were novel phenomena, whilst the latter beheld with equal wonder the steady regularity of the Frank order of battle. At length the general onset begins (732). Vain are the ever renewed assaults of the Mahometans; the Franks stand immoveable as walls, and pressing forwards with steady aspect, cut down all that oppose them. Abderrahman fell in the action; yet was nothing decided, and night put an end to the mutual slaughter. The next morning found the Christians ready to renew the engagement; before their eyes stood the tents of the hostile camp, behind which they conceived the army to be arrayed for the encounter. When after long waiting no foe appeared, the out-posts were ordered to reconnoitre, and all was found vacant; the Arabs had employed the night in rapid flight. He who knows the Franks need not be told that their first thought was not the pursuit of the enemy, but the plunder of a camp teeming with wealth. Even Charles, who earned in this hard-contested battle the name he bears in history of the Hammerer (*Martellus*), thought not of pursuit. For the moment he was satisfied with having established the superiority of steady tactics and endurance over the impetuous onslaught of Arabian fanaticism, which esteemed death in battle the surest pledge of future happiness. * * * * It is true that the Franks derived no other immediate advantage from their victory. The Saracens long retained possession of Southern Gaul, where Charles Martel repeatedly fought with them in after years; and it was only his son Pippin, who, by immense exertions, succeeded in expelling them. But it is likewise true that the Saracens thenceforward lost all inclination to be the aggressors with regard to the Franks; that upon this battle rested the question whether Europe should remain Christian or become Mahometan; (or Mohammedan, as Mannert more etymologically denominates the followers of Mohammed;) for had Charles been defeated and slain, like the Moslem general, the strong band which held the Franks together would have vanished, and internally divided, they must have remained exposed to the rapid and violent inundations, which had recently brought destruction upon the Empire of the Visigoths in Spain."

These extracts will, we think, be sufficient specimen of the

Munich professor's historical manner; but as his dryness may have been found wearisome, we will, ere concluding this article, at once display his best style, and endeavour to refresh our readers by translating the most amusing of the incidents he relates in illustration of the state of Frank society under the Merovingians.

"At Tours dwelt two noble Franks who possessed extensive domains in the vicinity. One of these, named Austregil, slew and plundered some of the *Pueri*, or armed attendants of Sichar, the other. As the slain were not free-born Franks, but *hörigen*, or thralls, although appertaining to that armed portion of the household without whose escort no man of any consequence undertook a journey, the affair was referred to the burgher tribunal, which decided that Austregil had incurred punishment. But Sichar learning that the stolen goods were in his antagonist's house, troubled himself no further about the verdict, collected a body of armed followers, attacked the mansion by night, slew Austregil, and plundered his property. The town was alarmed for the consequences, and the bishop in conjunction with the judge, (probably the Frank *Gravio*,) invited the parties to appear before them. They came, the assembled citizens being likewise present. 'Prosecute this quarrel no farther,' said Bishop Gregory, 'be placable, and let him who has done the wrong make compensation; should his wealth prove insufficient, the church shall buy him off with her gold.' But Chramnisind, the nearest kinsman of the murdered man, refused to accept any composition, and the assembly broke up. It was soon afterwards reported that Sichar had been murdered upon a journey by his own attendants; (he was merely wounded). Immediately Chramnisind and his party fall upon Sichar's country residence, kill some of his servants, burn his houses, and drive away his cattle. Both parties were again summoned before the *Gravio*, and the judges decreed that he who, rejecting a just composition, had burnt the houses, should forfeit one half of the composition previously adjudged to him, but that Sichar must still pay the other half. This was a proceeding contrary to law, devised as a means of restoring peace. The church paid the money; both parties respectively swore that neither would speak a word against the other, and so the dispute seemed to be ended.

"Not an idea appears of royal intervention, or of the 200 *solidi* fixed by Salic law as the price of the blood of a free-born Frank. It was to be a voluntary bargain in which neither party could be compelled to concur; and the sum offered must have been large, since it was presupposed beyond the pecuniary ability of the wrong-doer.

"But what has been related is only half of this strange incident, which so clearly marks the lawless habits of the Franks. The foes were so thoroughly reconciled that they frequently feasted together and slept in the same bed (an old German custom). As they sat one day at Chramnisind's table, drinking together in mirthful mood, Sichar said, 'Thou shouldst thank me, good brother, for having killed thy kinsman, since the composition has made thee a rich man.' Then thought Chramnisind in his heart, 'If I leave my kinsman's blood unavenged, I am

not worthy to be called a man.' He put out the lights, clove Sichar's head in twain, and hastening to the king, told how the thing had happened, and prayed for assurance of his life. He believed, therefore, that he had acted with perfect propriety; but he had Brunechild against him, because Sichar was a follower of hers, and Chramnisind was constrained to seek for safety in exile."*

ART. VIII.—*Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Goethe, (Correspondence between Schiller and Goethe.)* 6 Bde. sm. 8vo. Leipzig. 1830.

THESE "*Epistolæ Clarorum Virorum*," we are afraid, will somewhat disappoint expectation; not because they do not contain many letters eminently characteristic of the writers, and important towards forming a right estimate of their respective minds and literary habits, but because these letters are not separated with sufficient care from others which are neither characteristic nor important. Men in real life, who write with the view of communicating their respective wants and wishes to each other, must touch on many topics which a judicious collector would omit as in no way interesting to any but the parties themselves. "What the deuce is it to me," said the elder Scaliger, "whether Montagne loved white wine or red;" and this querulous observation is somewhat apt to occur to one's mind in perusing these letters, particularly those in the first volume, which were principally written, shortly after Schiller had begun to publish the periodical work called "Die Horen," and relate chiefly to matters of bookselling and bookbinding; questions of fine or coarse paper copies; engravings, contributions to writers, and so on. Not but that these little details are occasionally amusing enough; but they suit better with such persons as Madame de Genlis, than with the two greatest names in German literature, Schiller and Goethe. Hence, we must say, it would have been better for the purses and patience of the reader, if nearly a third part of these letters had been retrenched.

One extremely interesting point about them, however, is the perfect confidence which they prove to have subsisted between the writers, each, in his respective style, at the head of literature in Germany; Goethe, the more Catholic in his genius, the more

* This article was entirely written, and in types, previously to the appearance of Luden's fifth volume, copies of which have only recently arrived in this country. That volume carries on the History to the final division of the Frank empire into its French and German portions, during the dissentions of the sons of Louis *the Pious*, an appellation which the French authors have translated, strangely enough, *le Debonnaire*. We shall probably return to the work, when some more volumes have appeared, and enable us to exhibit a period of similar character, although of shorter duration, than that embraced in the present article.

comprehensive in his views, the calmer in his opinions, the more classically graceful in his compositions; Schiller, with more of that irregular strength still clinging to him with which he had at first entered the field of literature, hardly yet settled in his notions, either of philosophy, life, or art itself, and, therefore, constantly changing his principles of composition; yet, from his industry and fervour, making a deeper, if not a wider, impression on the public of Germany, and certainly far more generally read and understood in Europe. These men, so closely united in some points, and so very different in others, had not altogether harmonized on their first meeting; Goethe even thought that some of the doctrines in Schiller's "Essay on Dignity and Grace" were aimed at himself; and as the one resided in his civil capacity at Weimar, while the other was attached to the university of Jena, considerable time had elapsed without materially altering the terms of mere acquaintance on which they stood. The circumstance which brought them into that union which gave rise to these letters, and to which both acknowledge their obligations for many important reciprocal benefits, was Schiller's undertaking the literary and philosophical periodical already mentioned, ("The Hours,") with the view of counteracting, in some measure, the false principles in philosophy, taste, and morals, which about that time, (1794,) disgraced the literature of Germany, in common, indeed, with that of the greater part of Europe. The co-operation of Fichte and Jacobi in the philosophical department, of the Schlegels in the critical, and of Meyer in matters relating to art, had been secured; Schiller, who had already shown that he could pass from poetry to philosophy, and from philosophy to history, was himself a host. But Schiller felt the want of some one who would teach the public more by example than by precept, and who with his lighter productions would counteract the too didactic tendencies of his other coadjutors. This assistant he sought and readily found in Goethe.

From the commencement of their acquaintance to the death of Schiller, in 1805, these two great men continued in almost daily correspondence; communicating to each other the projects in which they were engaged, soliciting or giving advice on the conduct of their respective works, and exchanging opinions also on general questions of taste and literature. Each felt that the criticism or encouragement of the other was the strongest incitement to renewed exertion; though the feeling with which Schiller contemplated some of the productions of his rival was occasionally blended with a distrust of his own powers, and dissatisfaction with his own performances. Speaking of Goethe's Wilhelm Meister, he writes, "I cannot express to you the painful sensation I feel on turning from a production of this nature to look into

my own being. With you, all is so cheerful, so loving, so harmoniously blended, so true to humanity; with me, every thing so harsh, so rigid and abstract, and so unnatural; for all nature is hypothesis, and all philosophy antithesis." In another letter, after alluding to what he conceives to be the peculiar characteristic of Goethe's mind, its intuitiveness, he observes; "My understanding works rather by symbols, and thus I waver between idea and perception, between rule and sentiment, between technicality and genius; I was surprised into poetry where I ought to have been philosophical, and into philosophy where I should have poetised. And even now, imagination too often destroys my philosophy, and cold understanding my verse." Both his estimate of Goethe's genius and his own were to a certain extent incorrect, though both were also substantially true. Goethe had undoubtedly succeeded in effecting a rare blending of all the different elements of feeling, fancy, wit, and pathos in his works, but he had often carried this principle of repose, and this balance of contrary qualities, too far for the actual practical effect of his compositions, and thereby given to them an Utopian and unreal aspect of tranquillity. Schiller, on the other hand, though doubtless the intellect and the imagination had never co-operated in his mind with that complete fusion which they had done in that of Goethe, had, on the whole, addressed himself with more effect to the mind of his countrymen, and if his intellectual armoury was less numerously furnished than that of his rival, he made up for it by the skill and strength with which he launched his weapons. It is certain, however, that his intercourse with Goethe was of essential benefit to him in that particular in which he felt his deficiency;—the effecting a harmonious union of his imagination with that abstract spirit of research which too often destroyed the creations of his fancy, even in the moment of their formation.

On the other hand, the restless activity, the intensity and fervour of Schiller, exerted amidst all the depressing influences of almost continual sickness, together with his lofty principles of morals and criticism, seem to have imparted a no less striking and beneficial influence to the mind of Goethe. "I rejoice," says he, "to tell you what pleasure I have derived from your conversation, that I reckon those days to have been an epoch in my life, and how glad I am to have proceeded on my way without much encouragement, since it seems now, that after so unexpected a meeting, we are destined to proceed together. I have always valued the honest and uncommon earnestness which shows itself in all you have written and done." He speaks still more decidedly on the subject in the late notices of his literary life, (vol. xxxi. p. 42.) "Amidst this pressure of annoyances, what surpassed all my expectations was my increasing connection with Schiller; from the

first it was an irrepressible progress in philosophical culture and literary activity; the burst of a new spring, in which every twig and seed shot forth with renewed activity." Of this the newly collected and arranged letters on both sides are the best evidence.

They certainly do afford evidence of extraordinary and most varied literary activity on both sides. While Goethe is performing his duties as minister, and losing of course much valuable time in the ceremonial of a court, he is at the same time finishing William Meister, composing Faust and Hermann and Dorothea, each a master-piece in its way, throwing off innumerable little poems, many of them gems of art, writing philosophical essays, translating plays and novels from the French, Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini from the Italian; criticising, and that carefully too, and with many suggestions and alterations of his own, the ballads and poems of his friend; and blending with all this the study of galvanism, of a new theory of colours, and of butterflies. Nothing, in short, is too exalted for him, nothing too insignificant, in his desire of knowledge and enlargement of mind. Schiller, on the other hand, confines himself a little more to matters more strictly literary; but he supplies, by the most careful study for each particular subject, his want of general preparation; if he writes a poem, he studies the habits and customs of the country, or the features of the scene which he describes, in order to reflect them at once with force and with fidelity. Many of the most interesting letters in these volumes relate to the composition of his Wallenstein, in which the magnitude and conflicting nature of the materials with which he had to deal, occasioned the most important and repeated alterations. Of Goethe's works, that which is most frequently alluded to is Wilhelm Meister, which was submitted to Schiller in its progress, and appears to have been viewed by him with the greatest admiration as a whole; though in reference to particular parts he suggested many valuable corrections and improvements, of which several were adopted by Goethe. Many other interesting particulars may be gleaned from these letters relative to Faust, The Maid of Orleans, William Tell, Schiller's smaller Poems and Ballads, and other works on which the writers were engaged during the period to which the correspondence relates. And to the future biographer of either, they will undoubtedly, when divested of the many trifling and unimportant matters with which they are at present clogged, afford most valuable materials. We would recommend, however, the addition of an index of subjects, without which, particularly in their present form, reference to them is exceedingly troublesome.

ART. IX.—*Der Aufstand der Braunschweiger am 6ten und 7ten September, seine Veranlassung und seine nächsten Folgen.* (The Insurrection of the Brunswickers on the 6th and 7th of September, its Causes, and its immediate Consequences.) Brunswick. 1830. 8vo.

THE pamphlet of which the title-page is prefixed to this article, has been lately published at Brunswick without a name. The author of it, however, seems to have had access to the best information, and it contains a detailed and apparently impartial account of the events which led to the late expulsion of the reigning Duke of Brunswick. We will avail ourselves of it to lay before our readers a brief narrative of that remarkable revolution.

Few princes ever ascended a throne with greater advantages than Charles, Duke of Brunswick. Under the enlightened and paternal sway of his grandfather and father, Charles William Ferdinand and Frederick William, the Brunswickers had learnt, not only to honour and revere their rulers, but to esteem and love them, as mixing in private with their subjects, and identifying their own interest with that of their people. Equally well satisfied were the citizens of Brunswick with the public administration under the Regency of George IV., which followed the death of Frederick William at Quatre Bras. From experience, therefore, they had reason to think well of their rulers. Nothing, accordingly, could exceed the loyal hopes and enthusiasm of the people of Brunswick at the accession of the young Duke Charles. In the tumult of popular joy, the suspicions of those were drowned who thought that they could trace in the deportment of the duke marks of coldness and want of sympathy with his subjects. The first year of his reign passed in apparent tranquillity, but not a day went by which did not damp the hopes and increase the melancholy forebodings of the people. The taxes were either increased or retained unaltered; while the expenditure for the public benefit was diminished. Faithful counsellors were dismissed. The assembly of the estates, re-established during the Regency, was not convened. The people in vain looked for one act of the sovereign directed to the public welfare; nor had they even the poor consolation to think that the misgovernment was owing to the irregular passions of a youthful prince, when they saw his deliberate distrust and the phlegmatic indifference of his disposition. Soon afterwards, the chief ministers of state, who had earned the gratitude and esteem of the people, were dismissed, and, with one exception, forced to seek an asylum in foreign countries from the insults and oppression to which they were exposed at home. It was after the duke had thus got rid of the disagreeable restraint of honest advisers, that he openly quar-

relled with his former guardian, the late King of England. This indecent proceeding was accompanied with a rescission of the laws passed during the last year of the Regency, and a plain avowal never to recognise the representative constitution, re-established during that administration. A set of servile flatterers now rose into the favour of the duke. Foreign parasites, prostitute writers, lawyers and professors of low reputation, obtained the highest posts of the state. With these willing tools of despotism the duke soon broke out into acts of lawless violence. A young man who had passed some censure on the theatre, was, at the command of the duke, thrown into prison, and detained there for several weeks. The citizens began to tremble for their personal safety, and to communicate their fears to confidential friends. To prevent such expressions of alarm, police agents were sent about in secret—letters were opened and read in the private cabinet of the duke. To be favoured or countenanced by the prince, once the highest favour, was now the greatest misfortune, as it was surely followed by universal distrust and aversion. But no measures of the government were more unpopular than its financial regulations. Although many offices, even in the courts of justice, were left unfilled, and a parsimony very different from a wise economy introduced into the public expenditure, the public burdens were not only not diminished, but increased; and taxes seemed only destined either to increase the duke's treasure, or to buy up newspapers. By these acts of rapacious extortion and short-sighted avarice many opulent families were driven from the capital; the poor were thrown out of employment; the rent of houses fell a third, their value one half; and the sums expended upon public works and improvements were still further reduced. Not satisfied with this unjust appropriation of the taxes, the duke next raised large sums by a sale of public lands, which was expressly prohibited by an edict of Duke William Ferdinand. Bitter, a man who had risen into high office from being a common clerk, and was employed by the duke in opening private letters, had full powers for effecting these sales; and was paid by a percentage on the purchase monies, and a permission to receive gifts from the purchasers. It would be needless to enumerate the other illegal and outrageous measures of the duke. Men of rank and station were wantonly insulted and driven into banishment; members of the Assembly of the Estates were annoyed with petty persecutions; just punishments were improperly remitted; the sentences of the regular courts of justice were attacked, and the Estates were not convened. When at last this assembly, in accordance with its constitutional right, met without summons from the sovereign, in May, 1829, the duke applied without success to the German Diet for an abrogation of the law for the assembling

of the Estates, which produced an open breach with the Diet, and destroyed all hope in his subjects of his ever exercising a legal and constitutional rule.

In this state of things, with the decrees of the Diet hanging over his head, the duke left Brunswick in the early part of 1830. The country was suffering from the various evils of the most deplorable misgovernment; anxiety, mistrust, despondency, alarm, distress, every where prevailed. As was expected, the absence of the duke tempted him to measures which might have endangered his personal safety if he had been within the reach of those who were to suffer by them. The *Cammer-Collegium*, a high board of administration, was remodelled, contrary to the law which required the consent of the Estates, and was filled with men of the desired subserviency. Even new tribunals were erected, so as to make the administration of justice dependent on the duke's will. At the same time an edict was issued, prohibiting all public servants from being absent from their place of residence a single night without permission. In some matters the ministers had no discretion without receiving instructions from Paris, to the great hindrance and embarrassment of public business: in others, Bitter, who was the organ of communication with the duke, had full powers, and chiefly in the sale of the public lands. The grants which had always to that time been annually made for agricultural works were for the first time withheld, and immense sums of public money sent to be squandered at Paris.

Such was the state and such were the feelings of the Brunswick people, when they received the news of the French revolution. All were naturally eager to learn how this event would influence the conduct of their sovereign. They soon heard that the duke had fled from Paris, on foot, attended by a single officer, and that after a walk of several hours, he had hurried to Brussels in a miserable carriage. All his money and treasures had been left in the custody of another officer, who was forced to give up most of the arms to the people of Paris, but saved the other effects without any loss. On the 13th of August, the citizens of Brunswick, who had expected that the duke would cross to England, heard that he had arrived that morning in his own city, attended only by a Frenchman named Alloard, having travelled on horseback, and had reached his castle, unobserved, by a backway. Bitter, the duke's favourite, in vain attempted to persuade the people to illuminate their houses at the return of their sovereign; and a procession of torch-bearers, composed of the lowest public servants and other dependant persons, alone, amidst the silence of the crowd, saluted the duke with a few faint shouts when he appeared on the balcony of his palace.

The duke immediately after his return appeared to anticipate a repetition of the events which he had witnessed at Paris. He went to the theatre by a circuitous way; he rode out armed with pistols; and one day when a wheel came off his carriage, and some foot-passengers called out to warn him of his danger, mistaking their exclamations for seditious cries, he took refuge in a neighbouring house. It was generally understood that he was prepared to resort to extreme measures. The Baron von Sierstorpff, who had been illegally banished from the territory of Brunswick, and was expected to return under a decision of the German Diet, was to be received with some public rejoicings by his neighbours. Orders were accordingly issued by the duke, that in this case the military were to fire grape-shot into the crowd—orders which the consequent absence of Sierstorpff alone prevented from being carried into effect.

The unpopularity of the duke was further increased by his breaking up a stud kept for the general improvement of the breed of horses, which was sold to trading Jews at low prices. The intimacy of an unknown foreigner at the palace likewise heightened the suspicions of the people: and placards were posted in remote quarters of the city, complaining of want of bread, and calling on the duke to remain at home, and dismiss his foreign favourite.

At this time an event happened which nearly brought matters to an issue between the prince and the people, and affords a striking example of the truth of the remark of Aristotle, that revolutions, though made for great objects, often arise immediately from unimportant circumstances. The vice-master of the horse, von Oeynhausen, an officer of old standing, who had distinguished himself at Waterloo, and generally esteemed and respected by his fellow citizens, was, even at the duke's table, assailed with the most humiliating reproaches. The old soldier, overcome with mortification and anguish at such a cowardly insult, was suddenly seized with an illness which seemed to threaten his life. When he had partially recovered, the duke was pleased to bestow on him a long visit, in which the subject of the former conversation was renewed in the same style, and with such effect, that the unhappy man died the next day. As soon as the duke was apprized of this event, he hastened to the room where the corpse lay almost warm; began reviling the wretched man who had just expired, ordered his remains to be forthwith removed from the castle, and exclaimed, that "he must accustom himself to the sight of dead bodies." The diffusion of these words through the city naturally created an instantaneous alarm. Every one appropriated to himself this fearful prophecy: and when such was the avowed determination

of the duke, all hopes of a peaceable arrangement between him and his subjects were plainly at end.

Only one peaceable act followed this sad tragedy. On the 1st of September a deputation of citizens waited upon the duke to represent to him the deplorable state of public affairs, and the necessity of convening the Estates in order to consult with them on the best means of relieving the general distress, as the ministers possessed neither the confidence of the duke himself nor that of the people. The only reply vouchsafed to this application was, that "Circumstances would give a clearer answer."

Orders were immediately given to increase the watch, to recall all soldiers on leave of absence, and to serve out cartridges to the men. On Monday, Sept. 6th, sixteen cannons with ammunition were drawn out in front of the barracks. Up to this time there had been no disturbance or riot on the part of the people: no breach of the public peace had been committed. But after the signal had been thus given by the duke, the contest could not long be deferred. In the evening of that day the duke's carriage was attacked while returning from the theatre. Alloard, the favourite, was mistaken for his master, and pulled back by the crowd, as he was mounting the steps. Several stones struck the carriage, and one passed through the window; but the duke succeeded in regaining the castle amidst the shouts of the populace. The crowd dispersed over the town in separate bodies, and broke some lamps and the windows of different public buildings. The infantry were soon seen marching from their barracks into the castle-yard: and the duke appeared on horseback with his sword drawn. The people, unarmed, stood in crowds outside the castle: but nothing further took place than that Lieutenant-General von Herzberg was sent to parley with them, and that the duke was with difficulty persuaded not to order the cannon to fire on the multitude. At last the space near the castle was cleared by a regiment of hussars, and at half-past two in the morning of the 7th all was quiet.

Early in the same day 5500lbs. of gunpowder were, by the duke's order, brought from their usual place of deposit to a church within the city; but, in compliance with the immediate remonstrance of a tradesman, the order was recalled, and the gunpowder restored to its former magazine.

At 11 o'clock in the morning, the chief magistrate of the town, with six deputies, appeared at the castle, and requested an audience of the duke. They were twice repulsed by Bitter with the answer, that the duke was not yet dressed: but, at last, at 12 o'clock, they were informed that in an hour's time the duke would grant them an interview. At the appointed hour, there-

fore, the deputation, having been admitted, represented to the duke the strong excitement of all classes of his subjects, and the necessity of some immediate measures to avert the impending storm. They recurred to their former petition for the assembling of the Estates, and requested, as the first step towards an adjustment, that the cannons should be removed to the arsenal. In answer to these proposals, the duke promised, in general, relief to the poor, and labour to the unemployed; authorized the chief magistrate to withdraw the cannon into the arsenal, and gave into his hands a paper in which 5000 dollars were promised for the indigent, and employment in some public works. On the assembling of the Estates, the duke was silent: but he desired that no citizen should be allowed to carry fire-arms, or come near the castle, adding, that he knew how to defend his own castle, and they had only to defend the rest of the city. "The King of France," added the duke, "had taken imprudent measures, had not kept his word, and had thus offended his subjects: but that *he* would not adopt any half measures, and suffer things to come to such a pass as at Paris." The deputation returned dissatisfied: and a proclamation, announcing the results of the negotiation, was received with distrust. All the cannons, with the exception of those in the castle-yard, were carried back to the arsenal, and the crowd dispersed.

On the same morning the duke sent a notice to the inhabitants of the street opposite the castle to remove their effects from the front of their houses, as it was intended to fire upon the people with grape-shot on the first symptom of a tumult, and no damage would be made good except that done to the buildings. The effect produced by the diffusion of this announcement may be easily conceived.

After the departure of the deputation, the duke, in the presence of several of his household and his ministers, communicated to General von Herzberg his intention to repress any future commotion of the people by military force. The general represented to the duke the danger of such violent measures, and the expediency of listening to the demands of the citizens: the difficulty of maintaining any of the public buildings besides the castle, and the inutility of holding that post when the rest of the town was either occupied or destroyed. He also reminded his master, from a late example, of the difficulty of resisting a people when all are animated by the same spirit. The duke inquired if he could depend on the fidelity of the army. He was answered, that the officers knew only the duty of obedience, but, on account of the ill-treatment which they had of late years received, the scantiness of their pay, and the privations to which they had been exposed,

they could not be well affected to their sovereign, and that the privates could not be expected to act with zeal and determination against a multitude formed of their kinsmen and friends. To this statement the duke rejoined, " that it might be true that he had not been sufficiently liberal to the officers: it was not, however, too late to remedy the omission: that the public monies were at his disposal: but that the officers must first fight for him against the rebels, and show that they deserved their reward." The general declined to be the bearer of such a proposal; and the conversation here terminated.

About noon the duke was anxious and uneasy, moving from place to place, and giving instructions to his officers. The commander of the artillery twice received orders to fire among the people at the first disturbance. At 7 o'clock in the evening the military again assembled in the castle-yard: they were distributed by the duke himself, so as best to defend the castle: the body-guard was posted in the castle-garden, and all the outer doors and wickets were closed. By this time a large crowd had assembled without the gates, and after committing some smaller outrages, proceeded, with loud shouts and imprecations, to attack the Chancery, or Archive-Office (the Canzlei), a building connected with the main body of the castle, and two other door-ways, one leading into the castle, the other into the garden. At this critical moment, the duke, by the representations of his attendants, was convinced, that even if he ordered the military to fire, his life would be exposed to the utmost danger, on account of the great number of the assailants. While, therefore, the people were as yet kept back by the military, he determined on instant flight. This resolution was immediately executed. Taking with him two aides-de-camp, a regiment of hussars, and the body guards, as an escort, he sallied from the garden just as the people were breaking into it. He was escorted for some miles on his flight by these regiments; and about midnight, neither disturbed by the loss of his crown, nor the anxious conversation of his followers, nor the sight of the flame of his palace which lighted him from his dominions, he unconcernedly took leave of those who returned, threw himself into his carriage, and drove away.

In the mean time the efforts of the attacking party had not been relaxed. The duke at his departure had left General von Herzberg with full powers to act as he might think best. Herzberg attempted to gain the assistance of the chief municipal magistrate and the civil force, but his efforts were fruitless, and he nearly lost his life in returning to the castle. The decision was now to be taken, whether the castle should be defended or not. With the advice, and in accordance to the general feelings of the

officers, he gave the command to the troops *not to fire*, but to retreat when the crowd could not be resisted without firing. At the moment of the duke's departure the Chancery had been forced, and the entrances into the castle and garden broken open. The troops accordingly withdrew by degrees to the back of the castle-yard, and thence into the gardens. The fire now burst forth from the windows of the Chancery; in vain had the chief magistrate attempted to check the fury of the multitude; nothing could be heard but the yells and imprecations of the victorious besiegers. The right wing of the castle, in which were the rooms occupied by the duke, was next on fire: every thing, of whatever kind, found in them, was thrown out of window, and eagerly destroyed. The chief magistrate wished to use the fire-engines, which had been brought up by the burgher-guards, but a thousand voices exclaimed that the engines would be broken if the attempt was made; that the castle must be levelled with the ground. By midnight the fire had seized the whole right wing of the castle. The roof had not yet fallen in, but blazed on high, throwing a red glare on the castle-yard and all the neighbouring buildings. The fire-engines were now used for securing the houses of the citizens, which were endangered by the intense heat of so vast a conflagration. In this work both soldiers and citizens joined. In the midst of the stunning noise caused by the crackling of the flames, the crash of the falling walls, and the shouts of the infuriated crowd, and impeded by the concourse of men, some plundering, some saving from destruction, Herzberg contrived to preserve many of the most precious effects contained in the castle, and particularly the contents of the treasury. Numerous valuable articles and papers were the next day restored to the proper authorities. It was not till break of day that fire-engines could be brought into the castle-yard, and even then the offer of four days' wages would not persuade any of the crowd to join in working them. At last, when it became evident that the flames would spread from the left wing of the castle to the adjoining houses, some few hands gave assistance. But it was not till near noon that, with the help of the military, the fire was completely extinguished; after the right wing, the centre, and part of the left wing of the ducal castle had been destroyed.

The chief magistrate now perceived the necessity of organizing a Burgher-guard, before the lower classes could proceed to other acts of violence, unconnected with the expulsion of the reigning duke, and not prompted by the desire of wreaking vengeance on an oppressor. In the course of the day a body of 1800 men was organized, and at seven o'clock in the evening the most profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the whole city.

On the same day a committee of the Estates met and debated; and in a declaration of the 9th of September, the assembling of the whole body was promised within a short time. It was now necessary to provide for the vacant throne. All eyes were turned towards William, the younger brother of the late duke. An address, inviting him to appear in the midst of the Brunswickers, and by his presence to strengthen the bond of the laws and of the social union, was prepared for signature, and numerously signed. On the 10th of September, Duke William made his public entry into the town, amidst the cheers and congratulations of the people. He soon addressed his new subjects in a proclamation; new ministers were appointed; and in the space of a week the general tranquillity was so far restored, that all persons had returned to their usual occupations and amusements.*

The revolution of Brunswick, no less than those of Saxony and Belgium, was the child of the French revolution of July last. Although in all three cases, and particularly the first, the government had been most oppressive both from the interest and ignorance of the rulers, the oppression would doubtless have been endured, if the people had not been roused to resistance by a sympathy with the French, and the example of their successful conflict with the military.† It was said, we believe, by Madame de Staël, that the Russian constitution was a "despotisme limité par l'assassinat." The four revolutions of the last six months must constantly and forcibly remind all monarchs, whether constitutional or absolute, that if all laws are trampled upon, their power is at least limited by insurrection. The memory of these revolutions, following each other in such quick succession, will be a warning to all future princes, however bent on arbitrary rule, that it is their interest no less than their duty, to respect the written laws, the established constitution of the state, and the unanimous wishes of their subjects—

"Ne populus frequens
Ad arma cessantes, ad arma
Concitet, imperiumque frangat."

---

* A general persuasion has prevailed in this country, founded on the conduct of the Duke of Brunswick to our late king, that the mind of the duke was, partially at least, deranged. There is no intimation of such a suspicion in the pamphlet which we have reviewed; whether because the belief does not exist among his former subjects, or out of respect to his brother, the reigning duke, we know not. There is certainly no part of the duke's conduct, as there represented, which might not have been the act of a weak, selfish, obstinate and unprincipled man. An account of his quarrel with his guardian, the late King of England, may be seen in the Foreign Review, No. VI. and the Annual Register, Vol. LXIX. p. 288.

† We use this expression with reference only to the *issue* of the contest. In fact, the military were not beaten by the populace either at Paris or Brunswick. In the one place they retired for want of ammunition and provisions; in the other they refused to act.

All revolutions, however good and desirable the object for which they are effected, are evils in themselves. It is a dangerous thing for the friends of order and the laws to set the example of destroying that order and breaking those laws, and to call in the assistance of the lowest ranks for that purpose. If the disease is deadly, the remedy is also perilous. A double guilt, therefore, is incurred by rulers such as the Duke of Brunswick and Charles X. that by their misgovernment they not only inflict great sufferings on their subjects, but drive the people to relieve their sufferings by a desperate remedy; when recourse is had to that *summum jus* to which all laws must indeed bend, but which is never resorted to without destruction of property and life—the disturbance of credit—the suspension of commerce—and confiscations, banishments and executions for political opinions and crimes.

When a nation has past safely through such a crisis, and has recovered from the effects both of the disease and the cure, it is the part of all honest men, who wish well to their country, to attempt to perpetuate the constitution in its new form, and to withstand a *counter-revolution*. These considerations should weigh not only with native statesmen, but also with foreign courts: nor can any thing but the necessity of self-preservation justify an interference to restore a fallen dynasty or a deposed monarch. In the case of Brunswick there seem to be the strongest reasons why the German Diet and the chief nations of Europe should abide by the decision of the people. The reigning duke is of the ancient dynasty, and now rules by the free choice of his subjects; the deposed sovereign has proved himself to be a cruel, heartless and incorrigible tyrant; and the territory of Brunswick is of so small an extent that the changes in its internal government cannot be of much importance to foreign nations. We have therefore seen with sincere pleasure the recent communication of the King of England to the Estates of Brunswick, that "they may look to him for protection and aid in their endeavours to obtain redress of their just grievances, and that he will proceed to take such measures as are best calculated to secure to his beloved nephew, Duke William, the rights of sovereignty." This declaration of a powerful and beneficent monarch cannot fail (whatever may be the secret wishes of the German courts) to secure the reigning Duke of Brunswick on his throne, and to save the Brunswickers from a second infliction of their former oppressor.

ART. X.—1. *Lafayette en Amerique en* 1824 *et* 1825, *ou Journal d'un Voyage aux Etats Unis.* Par M. Levasseur, Secretaire du General Lafayette. Paris, 1829. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *Lafayette in America in* 1824 *and* 1825, *or Journal of a Voyage to the United States.* By M. Levasseur, Secretary to General Lafayette during his Journey. *Translated* by J. D. Godman, M. D. Philadelphia, 1829. 8vo.

3. *Lettres sur les Etats Unis.* Par le Prince Achille Murat. Paris, 1830. 12mo.

WE have been singularly unfortunate in the class of travellers, who have professed to give the English public information on the subject of America. While our Clarkes, our Burckhardts, and our Denhams, men on whose candour and powers of observation we could implicitly rely, have explored every other part of the globe with the minutest attention, we are not aware that any traveller of unimpeached character for impartiality and accuracy has yet published a volume on the United States, which has the slightest pretensions to be called philosophical. Perhaps, however, it is less necessary that we should have any direct or minute accounts of the state of affairs in that country. An acute observer of human affairs would arrive at a knowledge of the state of the people without them. He has only to consider (a difficult task we allow) what would be the condition of man in a highly civilized state, untouched by the corruptions of fashion, unbiassed by a veneration for antiquity, his faculties allowed to expand free from those checks which the mannerism of long established governments and the despotism of opinion impose among ourselves, excepting such as are absolutely necessary to the security of his person and property. This possibility of duly appreciating the American character and condition, by means of a simple knowledge of the fundamental principles on which their government is founded, seems to have struck Talleyrand in a letter to Madame de Staël from the United States.

"J'avois envie," he observes, "d'écrire quelque chose sur l'Amerique et de vous l'envoyer; mais je me suis aperçu que c'etoit un projet insensé. Je renvoie le peu d'observations que j'ai faites aux conversations que j'espere avoir quelque jour dans les longues soirées avec vous. L'Amerique est comme tous les autres pays: il y a quelques grands faits que tout le monde connaît, et avec lesquels on peut d'un cabinet de Copenhague deviner l'Amerique toute entière. Vous savez quelle est la forme du gouvernment; vous savez qu'il y a de grands et immenses terrains inhabités, où chacun peut acquérir une propriété à un prix qui n'a aucun rapport avec les terres d'Europe: vous connaissez la nouveauté du pays, point de capitaux, et beaucoup d'ardeur pour faire fortune, point de manufactures, parceque la main-d'œuvre y est et y sera

encore long-temps trop chére. Combinez tout cela, et vous savez l'Amerique mieux que la majorité des voyageurs."

We would not have it supposed that it is our intention or recommendation to discard or under-rate the accounts of travellers, in estimating the social and political condition of the United States, but we think that this principle may be safely opposed to the assertions of the Americans themselves, that they are the most difficult people in the world to understand. On the contrary we consider them the most easy. They have none of the artificial distinctions of rank, none of the multifarious restrictions which, in the Old World, warp and oppose the developments of the human mind, and which form the chief obstacles to all *a priori* reasonings on political subjects. The Americans are left by their government in a state of nature, or nearly so: we do not use the phrase in an offensive sense, but on the contrary as implying the highest praise to their rulers: our definition of a good government being, that it is one that leaves its subjects in a state of natural and uncontrolled freedom, so far as is consistent with the preservation of peace and the maintenance of justice. Such *is*, or we ought rather perhaps to say, such *was*, with some exceptions, the condition of the American people, for they have lately begun to swerve from that wise course which had hitherto marked their conduct.

Captain Basil Hall is the latest of our own travellers in the United States, who has favoured us with his observations. Captain Hall is an able and accomplished man, who, we have no doubt, wrote in perfect sincerity, and believed himself to be as free from prejudice as he says he was; but an impartial reader can hardly rise from a perusal of his work, without concurring in the opinion of one of his American reviewers, that "he was under the influence of a feeling, which utterly incapacitated him from seeing the country as it is." He has consequently been led into innumerable errors, which have been exposed in detail, though in a spirit far removed from that of fairness or impartiality, in a pamphlet lately published in this country.* We trust that the observations which we shall have occasion to make in the course of this article will be such as not to lay us open to similar imputations. We do not mean to limit ourselves to the topics suggested by the two works whose titles we have prefixed, but shall draw freely from other sources, and also endeavour to turn to account the opportunities derived from some personal acquaintance with the subject. But we must first say a word or two on the books before us.

* A Review of Capt. Basil Hall's Travels in North America. By an American. London, 1830.

M. Levasseur accompanied General Lafayette in the capacity of secretary, in the visit which the General paid to the United States, in the years 1824 and 1825, at the invitation of the Congress. On his return he wrote an account of this interesting expedition, of which the original, and a translation, published at Philadelphia, are now before us. We cannot conceive a more heart-stirring sight than the spectacle of the friend of Washington and Franklin visiting, in his old age, the scenes of his early renown, and, as one risen from the dead, beholding the splendid maturity of a nation, in establishing whose liberties he had played so conspicuous a part. It is seldom given to man to witness such a magnificent realisation of his hopes. Lafayette had fought for the United States when they contained but three millions of inhabitants, when they were engaged in a war, the success of which appeared almost hopeless, and which, when their independence was secured, had left them in a state of poverty and impotence, with no other resources but in the genius of the people. Now, when he returned to visit them after the lapse of nearly half a century, the three millions had increased to twelve, they possessed a territory equal in extent to two thirds of Europe, their poverty was a revenue of five millions sterling without internal taxes, and their flag was known and respected in every quarter of the globe.

Of course the General was received with the most unbounded enthusiasm; his journey was a triumphal progress from one end of the Union to the other, and his whole time was taken up in receiving addresses, and attending meetings, balls and dinners, given in honour of his visit. Amidst such continued scenes of festivity, it was of course impossible for M. Levasseur to take an impartial view of the condition of the country, and his book is consequently tinged with the agreeable feelings, which he must have experienced at so hospitable a reception. His account must therefore be received with caution, except in those points where he criticises what he saw; for precisely the same reasons we put confidence in these statements, as we do in the few laudatory paragraphs with which Captain Hall has interspersed his travels: in both cases they are the evidence of an unwilling witness. The Emperor Alexander, when he visited England, surprised at the number of well-dressed persons that crowded his steps wherever he went, asked where were the *canaille?* M. Levasseur, less shrewd than the autocrat, seems to have almost persuaded himself that there really were none in America. The quantity of unappropriated land must doubtless cause their number to be infinitely fewer than in old countries, but the fact that in the city of New York alone, which reckons under 200,000 inhabitants, 31,000*l.* is sometimes expended in a single year for the support of the poor, ought to make us hesi-

tate in believing in the non-existence of pauperism among our Transatlantic brethren.*

The unpretending letters of M. Achille Murat, son of the celebrated King of Naples, are written in an amusing style, with all the vivacity of a Frenchman, and with a fair mixture of candour and impartiality. Having lost all hopes of succeeding to his father's crown, he collected the scattered remains of his fortune, naturalized himself in America, and is now a slave-holding proprietor in the state of Florida.

There is not a little to excite the *amour-propre* of England in the contemplation of the United States, particularly when we compare their condition with that of the ill-starred colonies of Spain. In the former case, we see the seeds of liberty, which ourselves have sown, flourishing with unrivalled luxuriance, and the tide of civilization, to which we have given the first impulse, rolling on with continually increasing force, carrying our name and language over the almost boundless regions of the New World. In the Spanish part of America, since the inhabitants have thrown off the yoke of the mother country, revolution has succeeded revolution with awful rapidity; the state of ignorance and debasement in which they were kept is now visited on the unhappy colonists themselves as well as on Spain, who, by obstinately refusing to recognise their independence, deprives herself of those advantages which she might derive from their commerce, small as those advantages are to what they might have been, had she acted from the beginning in the liberal spirit of England. We are far, however, from joining in those anticipations which the prognosticators of evil and abettors of despotism are for ever ringing in our ears. It is difficult to collect authentic accounts of the state of Spanish America before the revolutions, but from the slight grounds we have for forming an opinion, we should doubt whether the disturbances that ensue from their present anarchical liberty are greater than the miseries which were inflicted by the murders, robberies, legal confiscations and executions, which resulted from the *protection* of Spain.

The state of the *laws and judicial polity* of the United States is, or ought to be, to Englishmen a subject of the deepest interest. Burke, in his speech on American conciliation, said of his American contemporaries, "in no country perhaps in the world is the law so general a study." This is still substantially true;

* M'Vickar's Introductory Lecture on Political Economy, delivered in Columbia College, New York.

their descendants have translated Bynkershoek, Martens, Pothier, and, in fact, we believe the greatest part of the continental jurists, and added to them valuable notes, while several periodical publications are specially devoted to the discussion of legal questions. Deriving their laws from the same sources as our own, the traces of the feudal times, so indelibly marked on the whole system of English jurisprudence, were, at the period of their revolution, equally prominent in the American. It becomes consequently a subject of no slight importance, particularly when we are endeavouring to remove those blemishes which the lapse of time and change of manners have caused in our laws, to investigate by what means those which were equally felt on the other side of the Atlantic, have been got rid of. We are confident that a richer harvest than is commonly imagined may be gathered by the legal inquirer, from a consideration of the several judicial systems in the twenty-four states of the Union. The constitution of the Union guarantees to each individual state a republican form of government, without which it would cease to form a member of the confederacy. Consequently the main features of each of the state governments, that is, the governor, the senate, and the house of representatives, as well as the general mode of elections, being the same, the effect of the difference in the criminal and civil laws may be more accurately judged than in the case of Europe, where the dissimilarity in the forms of government, to say nothing of the difference of language and manners, oppose far greater obstacles to our endeavours to discover the real excellencies of the several systems.

In conformity with that apathetic spirit, with which Englishmen, we know not why, have usually regarded every thing relating to the United States, little is known among us of the numerous ameliorations of our law, which have been carried into effect by the Americans. Perhaps it may be little flattering to our pride to see our ancient colonists so much in advance of ourselves in the application of the principles of jurisprudence to practice. Some there are doubtless among us who imagine that little is to be gained in any point of view by an acquaintance with the legal system of America; but whether pride or ignorance is the cause of this indifference, we submit that, considering the source from whence it has sprung, a system cannot be undeserving of our attention, to which M. Comte, one of the most celebrated French political writers of the day, and who at least will be taken as an impartial witness, has applied the following brilliant eulogy:—

"Nos théories les plus brillantes sont, sous le rapport des institutions, de beaucoup en arrière des pratiques Américaines; les legislateurs de

l'Amerique ont exécuté, sans violence et presque sans efforts, ce que les philosophes anciens ou modernes n'auraient pas osé concevoir."

A useful introduction to a knowledge of American law has lately been published in this country by Mr. Parkes, of Birmingham, in a single octavo volume. It contains the statutes and orders of the Court of Chancery and the statute law of real property in the State of New York: the author has prefixed to this a short but clear account of the equity jurisdictions and law of real property, as it exists throughout the whole of the United States, and we shall make considerable use of this introduction in the following observations on American jurisprudence.

It is now more than four years since Mr. Humphreys, in his able work on real property, pointed out the defects of, and suggested remedies in the English system. These defects, which existed equally in the American laws, have long since been removed, while interminable delay seems to characterise every endeavour at a similar reformation of our own. It is remarked by Mr. Parkes, as a singular fact, and we may add not a little humiliating, that the parliamentary reports and discussions on the English Court of Chancery have actually been of more use to the Americans than to ourselves.

Though in the charters which were granted to the original colonists, the feudal rights of the sovereign in the soil were formally recognized, yet even then, for all purposes of enjoyment and alienation, the lands were really allodial; by a statute passed by the legislatures of New York and Massachusetts, since the establishment of their independence, this allodial title of the proprietor in his lands has been placed beyond all doubt, and thus those numerous sources of litigation, which proceed from our absurd adherence to the forms required by the obligations of military fealty, are among our ancient colonists entirely removed; for though laws distinctly recognizing this principle have not (as far as we are aware) been passed in all the other states, yet for all practical purposes the allodial right of the landed proprietor is formally established. The grievances resulting from our system of copyholds and manorial services, from uses and trusts, from the incapacity of married women to convey, from the necessity which exists with us of naming the heirs of the alienee in all alienations in perpetuity, and from the cumbrous machinery of fines and recoveries, are in America either considerably ameliorated or entirely removed. The state of the law respecting estates tail may be seen from the following extract from Mr. Duponceau's "Dissertation on the Jurisdiction of the Courts of the United States," quoted by Mr. Parkes.

"Of estates tail in the several States of the Union. In four states these estates were never known to have been in existence, viz. Vermont, Illinois, Indiana, and Louisiana. In one, viz. South Carolina, the statute *de donis* never was in force, but fees conditional at common law prevail. In twelve they have been abolished, or converted by statutes into fee simple absolute, viz. New York, Ohio, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Missouri, Tenessee, Kentucky, Connecticut, Alabama, Mississipi, and New Jersey; but in the last four a species of estate tail still exists, being for the life of one donee, or a succession of donees then living. In six they may be barred by deed, acknowledged before a court or some magistrate, viz. Rhode Island, Maine, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Maryland, and Delaware; but in the last four they may also be barred by fine and common recovery. And in one only do they exist as in England, with all their peculiar incidents, viz. New Hampshire."

All the improvements that Mr. Brougham desired respecting the conveyances of estates held by married women in their own right, or in which they would be dowable, have been effected.* The absurd doctrine of *tacking*, by which a second mortgagee, if he was ignorant of the prior charge when he advanced his money, may, with us, by getting an assignment of any legal interest anterior to the first mortgage, take precedence of the first mortgagee, has been utterly exploded, and the simple rule of "qui prior est tempore, potior est jure," is every where observed.

The absurd rule in our law, by which, if an estate is given to a plurality of persons, without adding any explanatory words, they become joint tenants of the lands, has been remedied in the United States by the obvious plan of reversing the rule, as in nearly every case the interest of the parties requires that they should have a tenancy in common and not a joint tenancy.

"In New York and Delaware, estates conveyed to executors and trustees are excepted from the rule of construction introduced by statute. The propriety of this exception is obvious. The actual law of New York and Delaware, both with regard to the general principle and the exceptions, coincides exactly with the provision proposed by Mr. Humphreys, who says, 'where land is aliened to two or more jointly, whether with or without distinction of shares or interests, or in whatever terms, the share of each of them, upon his death, shall pass to his real representatives, and not to any surviving proprietor, unless an express right of survivorship be given, or in the case of active trustees.'"†

The custom of primogeniture, so firmly rooted in the English system, would of course cause the American law of descent to be in great measure inapplicable in England; still, however, the Americans have introduced several improvements in the law of descent not touching on this point, which might be advantageously

* Parkes's Introduction, p. 77. † Ibid. p. 72.

transplanted to this side of the Atlantic. The English law, by which a parent cannot succeed to the son's estate, and which requires a collateral heir to be of the whole blood of the ancestor dying seised, a law, which Mr. Humphreys justly stigmatizes as "repugnant to every principle of property, and to the moral feelings of kindred," has been abrogated in all the states. Blackstone's seventh canon of descent, by which kindred derived from the blood of the male ancestors, however remote, are admitted before those from the blood of the female, however near, which Mr. Parkes properly characterises as violating the feelings of nature, is observed in very few districts of the Union. There is no uniformity, however, in the several states in the laws relating to this subject: in Georgia a preference is given to the brothers and sisters of the half-blood in the paternal line, while in Pennsylvania the inheritance is divided among the next of kin of equal degree to the intestate.

The very obvious improvement on the English law, recommended by Mr. Humphreys, which should render the real as well as personal estate of the deceased liable for his simple contract debts, has been carried into effect in most of the states. Also during the life of the debtor, his real estate is liable for the payment of his debts, except in the State of Virginia, which all travellers concur in describing as the most aristocratic part of the Union, and of which, it appears, the large landed proprietors have felt that reluctance, which Mr. Humphreys anticipates would be felt by ours, at a proposal of subjecting their real estates to the payment of their debts of every description.

M. Levasseur was much struck, and well he might be, at the absurd law in the State of New York, which incapacitates a person from sitting on the bench after he has attained the age of sixty years; an absurdity, which could not be more glaringly exposed, than by the fact of the appointment of Mr. Kent as a commissioner to revise the laws of the State, after he was superannuated as a judge. This gentleman, whose learning and abilities justly entitle him to the appellation of the Blackstone of America, is the author of "Commentaries on American Law," which, like the Commentaries of our celebrated English judge, were originally delivered in the form of lectures at Colombia College. They contain a full and luminous account of the legal institutions of the republic, and though not quite completed, are considered, we believe, throughout the States, as the standard work on American jurisprudence.

It is an anomalous circumstance, that in a land which we are accustomed to consider as a model of simplicity and uprightness, the practice of gambling in lotteries, and places devoted to this purpose, which has been some time forbidden in England, and

now appears on the point of meeting with a similar fate in France, should be sanctioned by legislative authority in the United States. In New York, several lottery offices exist with the connivance of government; the legislature, it is true, has forbidden the establishment of new ones, but with what we cannot but consider as a culpable weakness, it has refused to withdraw its protection from the old ones, on the plea that they exist in virtue of privileges anterior to the constitution; the city is consequently exposed, in the words of M. Levasseur, "to a scourge more terrible than drunkenness or prostitution, which extends its ravages through the city of New York, and daily taints the public morals."* New Orleans also contains numerous gambling establishments, to which licenses are granted by the government in the same way as at Paris.

Slavery and the laws relating to the free persons of colour form a foul spot in the picture of the American Union. On this subject we are persuaded there is little accurate knowledge in England. The travellers of our nation who have visited the slave-holding states, have, as far as our observation goes, been either persons whose morbid horror of slavery has prevented them from taking a sufficiently close view of its state, or whose unfounded prejudices against the whole American nation have utterly disqualified them from judging impartially on any subject relating to that great republic. For this reason we shall abstain in the following observations from quoting the work of any Englishman, and should have done so even though we had not been warned of its danger by the sweeping denunciation of M. Murat, who declares that on the subject of slavery, there is not a single page, in any English traveller, that has been dictated by common sense.† M. Murat himself, however, is chargeable with entertaining prejudices against the English government, on the subject of slavery, not less unfounded than those which he ascribes to our countrymen, when he accuses it of employing writers to exaggerate the evils of American slavery, with the view of discouraging emigration to the United States. This is a mistake into which, to say nothing of its intrinsic improbability, he could hardly have fallen, had he been aware of the evils which excess of population is now inflicting on England.

In thirteen out of the twenty-four States slavery has been abolished by law; in the eleven others it exists in full vigour, though variously modified according to the genius and character of the several governments. Much more inquietude is felt with respect to the free blacks than the slaves, for there, as every

* Lafayette in America, vol. i. p. 124. † Lettres sur les Etats Unis, p. 114.

where else, the whites have an unconquerable aversion to any connection or intercourse with persons of colour; and this puts a complete check to an amalgamation of the two races. Discontent is not unfrequently excited amongst the slaves by the sight of their black free brethren, who usually live in a state of complete idleness. By a law lately passed in the State of South Carolina, every traveller who enters that province with a black servant is deprived of him on the frontiers, where he is imprisoned, and only returned to his master when he is about to leave the State. The reason given for the enactment of this law is the fear that tumults may be excited among the slaves by free black strangers, who never fail to talk to them of liberty.* A negro, whether free or enslaved, cannot travel without a passport, and every white has a right to stop and detain him in prison† if he is not able to prove his freedom. The desire of some States to rid themselves of the free blacks has induced them to impose a heavy capitation tax on these unfortunate persons, and even to authorise their sale if they are unable to pay it.‡ This appears to be a most impolitic measure, as without diminishing their numbers in the Union, it can only serve to increase the dislike between the two races; and in case of an insurrection the contest between them would be maintained with a more determined hate and ferocity. In most of the States, they may be sold to pay the debts of their masters contracted before their emancipation, and even the expenses of their imprisonment, if they should be detained while travelling for not having certificates of their liberty.§ In thirteen of the States, the constitution expressly forbids them to vote, and in all the others, except Pensylvania and New York, they are deprived of this privilege by special laws. Some of the southern States have forbidden free negroes to enter their domains under severe penalties—a law which, equally with some of those above-mentioned, has given rise to long discussions as to its constitutional character. The constitution of the United States declares that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." But a free negro of New York is a citizen of that State: now we have just seen that so far from enjoying the privilege of a citizen in some of the southern States, he is even forbidden to enter them—a plain violation of the constitution. In some parts, slaves are only allowed to be emancipated, on the understanding that they shall quit the State immediately on obtaining their freedom.

"On the admission of Missouri into the Union, in 1821, an article of

* Lafayette in America, vol. i. p. 206.
† Lettres sur les Etats Unis, p. 143.
‡ Lettres sur les Etats Unis, p. 147.
§ Ibid. p. 144.

its constitution which forbids the entry of free persons of colour into the legislature, gave rise to long and violent discussions. The article was, however, at length admitted, on the understanding that it should not apply to any citizen of another State,—a result which only serves to perplex the question in a greater degree than before. The debate on the admission of this State, commonly called the 'Missouri question,'* violently agitated the Union, and gives reason to fear that at some future period it may be the cause of its dissolution."*

The question of slavery in all its aspects is evidently surrounded with difficulties which appear almost insurmountable. It is impossible to get rid of so vast a number by exportation; besides, degraded as they are, the country in which they are born is still looked upon by the negroes with the same feelings with which we regard our native land: to the generality, Africa is as great an object of abhorrence as to a white. If they are freed, the question is as far removed from settlement as ever, as we have seen that the free blacks are as great sources of disquietude as the enslaved, and in most States subjected to laws of Draconian severity. Jefferson says, in his Memoirs,†

"Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation peaceably and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be, *pari passu*, filled up by free white labourers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up."

The increase of the slaves renders the application of this remedy absolutely impossible. In Jefferson's own State, Vir-

* Lettres sur les Etats Unis, p. 147.

† Jefferson's Memoirs and Correspondence form one of the most important and authentic works on American affairs ever presented to the public; they are especially valuable for the insight which they give us into the character and views of the American government. Whoever expects to meet in them eloquent passages, finely turned sentences, or deep erudition, will be woefully disappointed. Nearly all his letters bear marks of being written *currente calamo*, and have never since received any polish or correction from his hand. The writer was above all subterfuge or chicanery, he always went directly to the point he had in view,—he was one of that rare class of statesmen, who speak as they think, and act as they speak. Some prejudices, it is true, totally unworthy of his liberal mind, defile many pages of these memoirs. His detestation of federalism was only equalled by his hatred of England. Federal, he declares, is synonimous with lie. "Nothing like honour or morality," he says, "can ever be counted on in transactions with England," and he accuses us of playing the hypocrite to Spain, on the occasion of its invasion by Louis XVIII.; a charge which, it is almost needless to say, is wholly false. These, however, are blemishes of a trivial cast, compared with the valuable information which his volumes afford; wherever he relates a fact from his own knowledge, we can place implicit confidence in his testimony, and his work may be safely referred to as a record of facts of the most unquestionable authority.

ginia, nearly half the population are blacks. It reckons 1,065,366 inhabitants, among which 462,281 are coloured people, and of these only 37,113 are free. Georgia also, in a population of 340,000 inhabitants, reckons 150,000 slaves.

It is unjust, however, not to mention that the Americans are fully sensible of these enormous evils, and are doing all in their power to mitigate them. In 1821 the American Colonization Society entered into an agreement with some African chiefs for the purchase of some land at Cape Mesurado.* There they have founded a colony under the name of Liberia, and it is their intention to people it with free blacks, to be transported thither from the United States: we trust that they will have better success in their philanthropic attempt than has been experienced in our kindred colony of Sierra Leone. There are numerous other societies dispersed throughout the United States having a similar object in view, to describe which would require, says M. Murat," cent bouches, chacun avec cent langues, et des poumons d'airain." Not possessing these requisites, we shall content ourselves with referring to the fact of their existence, as a proof of the groundlessness of the taunts that are sometimes thrown out against the Americans on their indifference to the continuance of those evils, and to the inconsistency which they display with the free tone of their institutions. Notwithstanding all these drawbacks to the prosperity of the southern section of the Union, M. Murat contends that there arise from this very system many advantages, which in some measure counterbalance the numerous evils. According to him, the custom of being perpetually in the habit of commanding, gives the slave-owner a more noble bearing in his intercourse with his equals, and an independence of views in politics and religion, which form a perfect contrast with the reserve and hypocrisy which often characterise the inhabitants of the North. He declares that the southern inhabitants display an infinite superiority of talent over the rest of the Union, and that the elections, instead of being those scenes of tumult and confusion which the lower classes, who reign supreme in the North, cause them to be there, are conducted " tranquillement et raisonnablement" by the agency of the upper classes.

All this must of course be received with many grains of allowance, especially as M. Murat is a slave-holder himself, and desirous of inducing his friend, to whom these letters are addressed, to emigrate to his part of the country. When we hear of the public business being conducted in a way that is characterised by

* Holmes's Annals of America, vol. ii. p. 497.

the above oily epithets, and in the same breath compared with the "turbulent" scenes which are charged on a freer state of things, we are instinctively recalled to the established language among despots and tyrants, and are led to suspect that M. Murat has not yet forgotten some of the ideas that were instilled into him, while he was yet heir to the throne of Naples. M. Murat, however, seems to be rather prejudiced against the northern section, and particularly against the six States which go by the name of New England: these, he insists, consider religion to consist in eating nothing else on Saturday but cod-fish and apple-pies, and relates a story of a New England brewer who was publicly censured in the church for having brewed on Saturday, by which the beer was made to *work* on Sunday.

By way of counterpoise to the ex-prince's notions on this subject, we shall translate a passage from M. Comte's late work, entitled *Traité de Législation*, quoted in an article in the *Revue Française*, and we do so because the able reviewer declares that the author, to whom he is by no means favourably inclined, has put forth all his talent on the discussion of the slavery question, and has left nothing to desire; that he has investigated it among both the ancients and moderns, and considered its effects in every possible variety of aspect. M. Comte is speaking of Louisiana.

"It is expressly forbidden to every slave-holder to cultivate the intellectual powers of his slaves. A master who should be convicted of teaching one of his slaves to write, is subjected to a punishment seven times greater than what he would incur if he was to cut off his hands and his tongue. Any slave-holder who chances to meet on the public road more than seven slaves collected together, is empowered to flog them. A slave, unless he be blind or maimed, is forbidden to appear in public with a cane or stick, under the penalty of receiving twenty-five lashes; if attacked, he is interdicted from defending himself. If he is found sleeping, without a written permission, in a place belonging neither to his possessor nor to the person by whom he happens to be employed, he is punished by the infliction of twenty-five lashes. Even these precautions are insufficient to remove all fear from the minds of the masters; they believe themselves perpetually menaced with an insurrection, and always go armed with daggers. The custom of indulging in arbitrary rule and violence towards the slaves, renders the masters uncontrolled in their passions, vindictive and cruel towards each other. Quarrels, which ordinarily terminate in a duel, are frequent among them, and the general result is the death of one of the combatants. When disputes take place among the inferior classes, they are conducted with a degree of violence almost unknown in countries where domestic slavery does not exist. The combatants in their fury endeavour to maim each other, to cut off the nose, to tear away the eyes and ears. The wives of the slave-holders go themselves to the markets to buy whatever slaves

they want, *et font elles-mêmes, pour n'être pas trompées,** *toutes les vérifications usitées en pareille circonstance; elles ne paraissent pas même se douter des lois de la pudeur.* A white condemned for his crimes would disdain to eat at the same table with a man of colour, and it is necessary in the prisons to have separate tables for each race. In those parts where there exist a great number of slaves, esteem attaching almost exclusively to the aristocracy of colour, a white woman loses nothing of her reputation or self-respect by the most debauched course of conduct; while a woman who carries in her veins the slightest tinge of African blood, cannot rise into public esteem by the most virtuous behaviour. The wives of the Louisiana slave-holders are so proud of the whiteness of their skins, that it is difficult to conceive the extent to which this feeling is pushed. One of them, famous for her incontinencies, entering one evening into a ball-room, exclaimed in an imperious tone, 'there is black blood in the room.' This was instantly spread about, and it was discovered that two ladies, one quarter of whose blood was African, and who were well known for the excellent education they had received and the propriety of their conduct, were in the room. They were immediately advertised of the disgust their presence occasioned, and were obliged to decamp in haste from the presence of a woman whose company should rather have been considered as a stain in their society."†

The *constitution* of the United States presents a novel and imposing spectacle in political history. It was an experiment, according to Washington, to try with how much power the subject may be safely entrusted, and it is impossible to say that it has been as yet unattended with success. There are, however, germs of discord in its bosom, which, it would be presumptuous to deny, may at some future time, when the population begins to approach more nearly to the condition of a European State, cause a civil war, or dissolution of the Union. The Missouri question, which we have adverted to before, is of this nature. While it was under discussion it produced the most violent agitation from one end of the Union to the other. Jefferson declared that it filled him with alarm. Ten years ago he wrote, with reference to this question,

"I have been among the most sanguine in believing that our Union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance, and the direct consequence of this question; not by the line which has been so confidently counted on—the laws of nature controul this; but by the Potomac, Ohio and Missouri, or more probably, the Mississippi, upwards to our northern boundary."‡

---

* Surely, with respect to this fact as well as the preceding one, M. Comte must either have exaggerated or been grossly imposed upon. Had we met with it in the pages of an English traveller in America of the common class, we should at once have set it down as a misrepresentation.

† The testimony of Duke Bernard, of Saxe Weimar, as to the state of society at New Orleans, (see our Third Volume, page 634,) confirms the fidelity of this picture in all its essential points.

‡ Jefferson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 331.

M. Murat also declares, that in the present state of the Union, the annexation of Canada to it would probably cause its dissolution, owing to the great preponderance of power which this addition would give to the Northern States, and which would enable them to pass measures dictated simply by a regard to their own interests, in hostility to the wishes and welfare of the South. What effect these causes may have in bringing about this much to be deprecated result, it would be idle to conjecture, on this side of the Atlantic. But this much we may say, that the causes which we hear commonly given as likely to bring about this event, are utterly inefficient to that end. The old feud between the Federalists and Republicans, which is not unfrequently referred to as tending to a dissolution, has been extinguished by the annihilation of the former party; nor indeed did it ever threaten more serious results than the contemporaneous contentions of Whigs and Tories in this country. We have as little confidence in the assertion which we have sometimes heard, that the election for the Presidency will endanger the permanent tranquillity of the country. We are aware that Kent, in his Commentaries, maintains, that if ever a civil war arises, it will take its origin in this cause; but we cannot help thinking that the experience already obtained, particularly in the celebrated contest between Jefferson and Burr, warrants a contrary opinion. The nation, it is true, is violently agitated while the choice is making, and the vilest calumnies and reproaches which the bitterest spirit of party can suggest, are scattered with the most unsparing hand. But the day after the election, quiet is restored, and the threats which have been used by either party are in a moment forgotten. "How soon do you lay siege to the Capitol?" was the natural question of M. Levasseur to some violent supporters of General Jackson, the day after his opponent, Adams, had been elected. Such also, we are confident, would have been the inquiry of most foreigners. It is curious, indeed, to see the perpetual mistakes which are made by nations in judging of the dangers to which their neighbours are exposed by popular commotions. England has been predicted by the French a hundred times to be on the eve of a revolution. A public meeting in this country is invariably supposed to menace the existence of the monarchy. We are now making almost daily the same mistakes with respect to France. Not a petition can be presented to the king, but the alarmists are instantly on the alert with their prophesyings of secret plots and conspiracies against the nation. Even Jefferson is perpetually falling into the same error with respect to England, which he imagines is visited with an insurrection every six years on an average; and his countrymen seem all to be labouring under similar delusions. Eng-

lishmen are in general equally incorrect in their notions of tumults in America, which they usually set down as being in a state of civil war once every four years, on the election for the president.

At present, no State has the power to withdraw from the Union, as the act would be illegal, unless its constitution contained an express provision empowering it to declare its independence.* No State has an article to this effect in its constitution, and it would doubtless be impolitic to insert one, though we do not imagine that this will oppose any obstacle to a separation, should their real or supposed interests ever seem to require it.

In 1798 Jefferson writes, "Our general government has in the course of nine or ten years become more arbitrary, and has swallowed more of the public liberty, than even that of England!" In the eight years of his government, from 1801 to 1809, the impulse was in the contrary direction, that is, the state governments appear rather to have encroached on the powers of the general, and we are confident Jefferson judged rightly, in encouraging this tendency, a conclusion, to which we have arrived, from looking at what has been done of late years, when there seems a wish to invest the Congress with a power of regulating the internal concerns of the States. That the government can ever become really arbitrary we cannot for a moment believe with Jefferson, nor do we put any faith in another of his assertions, that if a common law was in force in the United States, it would become the most corrupt government on earth. Where such an eagle eye is kept on every movement of men in place, that the erection of a billiard table in the President's house could give occasion to a serious charge of immorality, we cannot hesitate to reject the opinion that the taint of corruption can there at least ever creep in.

In her *intercourse with foreign countries*, North America has always conducted herself in a way that commands our most unqualified praise. The Memoirs of Jefferson afford innumerable proofs of the open and candid spirit by which her government has ever been actuated. Her policy appears to have been invariably straightforward and undisguised, and all attempts at cunning and subterfuge utterly banished from her diplomatic intercourse: that this mode of transacting business has been as successful as what is called *refined* policy could have made it, the terms on which she has obtained the cession of Louisiana and the Floridas are a sufficient proof. In the first treaty of alliance contracted with France in 1778, she incautiously imposed on herself the obligation of protecting the French West India Islands against all aggressions. When war had broken out between England and France, in 1793,

* Rawle, on the Constitution of the United States, p. 295.

the performance of the stipulations in this article would instantly have involved the United States in hostilities with this country. Upon this, Washington issued a proclamation enforcing the strictest neutrality on the part of America, and this was the commencement of that system of non-interference in the affairs of foreign nations, to which the government has ever since inflexibly adhered. Happily, the circumstances of the case, and the wording of the article, enabled America to remain neuter with perfect good faith; there being at that time no firmly established government in France, America might refuse the fulfilment of the guarantee on this plea, and though it was not expressly mentioned in the Treaty, she certainly could not be justly required to stand to the strict terms of the obligation, unless the war in which her ally was engaged was defensive. This is the implied principle on which mutual guarantees of territory are always made; it was expressly stated by Mr. Canning on the occasion of our sending troops to Portugal, a measure to which we should not have resorted, had the hostilities been justly provoked by our ally.

Ever since that time America has cautiously avoided entangling herself with any similar obligation. The spirit of her government is essentially pacific; her army counts under 6000 men, and war, unless with a nation far inferior to herself in power, must seriously diminish the only sources of her revenue, importation duties. The most conciliatory demeanour has always been displayed by her government in negotiations with foreign states, never showing any want of dignity or spirit in urging just claims, on the one hand, or of readiness to enter into any reasonable arrangement that might be proposed, on the other. When Napoleon's Berlin and Milan Decrees and the English Orders in Council rendered it impossible for American ships to cross the ocean in safety, she resorted to the strong and, we believe, unexampled measure of detaining all her vessels in port. Afterwards all intercourse between France and Great Britain was prohibited; and on the expiration of this law, a proposition was made to both powers, that if either would revoke its hostile edicts, that law should be revived against the other. Surely no government could go farther in its efforts to maintain peace; and it was not till after England had tried her patience to the utmost, having stationed ships of war before all her principal harbours, and boarded and searched every American vessel that appeared, having captured more than 900 of her ships, and impressed some thousands of her seamen, among whom were two nephews of Washington, that she was reluctantly compelled to engage in hostilities with this country.

Nothing indeed can be more honourable to the American government than the temper and forbearance which it displayed throughout the trying times that succeeded the French revolution. For some time it had even to struggle with the opposition of the people. When Washington issued his celebrated neutrality decree, the feelings and prejudices of the majority of the American people were in open hostility to the measure, and even the venerable character and well known patriotism of the president did not preserve him from those attacks, which were now, for the first time, openly directed against him. The talents of that administration, to which America has never since seen one equal, carried the vessel of state safely through the dangers that menaced it; Washington and Adams filled the offices of president and vice-president, Hamilton, one of the authors of the Federalist, and Jefferson, were also in the cabinet. Had the European governments constantly shown the same spirit of moderation, the same disinclination causelessly to plunge their countries into the miseries of war, it is not too much to say, that half the evils which this pestilence has inflicted on Europe might have been avoided.

We must now, however, turn with regret to a point, in which, it appears to us, that the Americans have sadly fallen off from the wise course pointed out by their forefathers, namely, their *commercial policy*. It is singular indeed to remark the deep root which antiquated notions, that are beginning to be scouted by every enlightened nation in Europe, have already taken in the United States. England has for some time proclaimed her recognition of the principle of commercial freedom, and though a long course of contrary policy offers innumerable obstacles to its immediate and universal application, she is assiduously endeavouring to introduce it into every part of her system. Sweden also has been throwing off the shackles that bound her trade, and prevented the importation of foreign goods. Prussia again, to whom belongs the merit of having forced us to relax our navigation laws, has been for some time pursuing the same policy. Under it her manufactures are daily increasing, and her commerce proportionally advancing; her iron manufactures have so prodigiously improved since she has enjoyed her free trade, that we have some fear lest in that quarter our pre-eminence in this art may be endangered. France, we doubt not, will shortly follow in the same course. This journal has in some former articles given pretty strong proofs of the misery she has inflicted on herself by the prohibitive system. Three fourths of the wars that have desolated Europe for the last two centuries have taken their rise in the irritation caused by commercial prohibitions. Napoleon's adherence to this policy was one of

the main causes of his downfal, and by it he inflicted perhaps as great miseries on the nations under his control, as by the direct oppression of his conquests. If there ever was an invention by which the halcyon state of universal and perpetual peace can be secured, in free trade the secret lies, the application of which binds men together by the strongest and most indissoluble ties that human nature can feel—those of mutual interest and common advantage. Well has it been observed of the prohibition system by Sir Henry Parnell, in his excellent work on Financial Reform, "that those statesmen who invented this system, who have supported it, and who still support it, deserve to be classed among the greatest enemies of mankind."

Can it then, ought it to do otherwise than raise our warmest indignation, to see the Americans, whom we have been accustomed to consider as among the great promoters of civilization, as the steadiest friends to the improvement and refinement of the human race, thus casting off their philanthropy, and wilfully taking their station "among the greatest enemies of mankind?" Their adoption of the prohibitive system is of very recent origin; down to about six years ago, the policy of unrestricted trade with all the world, a policy under which their wealth and prosperity advanced in a degree unparalleled in the annals of nations, had been constantly adhered to; "the system of the United States," writes Jefferson, "is to use neither prohibitions nor premiums. Commerce then regulates itself freely, and asks nothing better." We shall presently see how their progress has been checked since they have departed from this wise course.

While reproaching the Americans with the folly of their tariff, we do not wish to conceal that the example of England has, more than any thing else, induced them to maintain it. For centuries the "mercantile theory of wealth" was firmly fixed in the minds of our statesmen; the history of our commercial legislation presents a continued series of laws (made only to be broken, for it was impossible to enforce them) having for their object the prevention of the importation of foreign goods. And of late years, when wiser counsels have ruled the empire, it cannot be denied that the good effects which might have resulted from the change, in the way of example to foreign nations, have in a great measure been neutralised, by the reasons which our ministers have adduced for abandoning the prohibitive system, reasons which were never the strongest, and sometimes even not the true ones. They have acted right, but reasoned wrong. No greater advantage can be given to the enemies of truth, than by maintaining right principles on erroneous grounds. This is what has unfortunately been done in England. Mr. Huskisson, with free trade in his

heart, had prohibition perpetually on his lips. He declared he took off the importation duty of 75 per cent. on cotton goods, because their superior cheapness in England was an effectual prohibition to their introduction without the aid of this high duty. One of his principal reasons again for reducing the duty on woollen goods from 50 to 15 per cent., and on silk goods from prohibition to 30 per cent., was, that these low imposts were still high enough to prevent the foreigner coming into competition with the English manufacture, or, in other words, these measures were to be utterly inefficient, and to leave us in the same state of prohibition as before. In the words of Mr. Senior, "these measures are defended as useless, and opposed as beneficial;" it being the constant practice of those who oppose them to declaim on the quantity of foreign goods which they will introduce, that is, on their beneficial tendency. Far too much use is also made of the argument deduced from smuggling. Mr. Huskisson constantly urged, and with perfect truth, "if you wont allow the fair trader to introduce foreign goods, the smuggler will do it:" but he did not add, which he ought to have done, with equal earnestness, "if you can shut out the smuggler, the result will be still more disastrous than it is with him." Pressing as he did with undue force on this argument, powerful as it no doubt is, he led his hearers to believe, that if we could suppress the smuggler, prohibitive laws would be highly beneficial; whereas, in truth, we should be infinitely worse off without than with him; for this great evader of our taxes applies a salutary correction to the evils of our faulty commercial legislation, and as such deserves to be looked upon with peculiar veneration and esteem.

Unhappily for the Americans, by this faulty reasoning of Mr. Huskisson their attention has been principally caught; and they have been wofully deceived by it, as the result has proved. If Mr. Huskisson made such a point of not lowering the duties to that level, which should readily admit foreign goods, why, asked the Americans, inconsiderately enough we allow, but with some degree of plausibility, should not we raise our duties to that height, which should produce the same effect as is intended in England? The speeches of our free-trade minister supplied no answer, and their tariff is the result.

While we object to the species of argument that prevailed in Mr. Huskisson's speeches, we must not forget that he was in a great measure forced into it by the prejudices and interests he had to deal with. Firmly convinced of the sound policy of his measures, the unceasing clamour of his opponents was perpetually compelling him so to arrange them that nearly the minimum of effect might be produced. He consequently struck a balance

between the free-traders and the prohibitionists. To the latter, he declared that the effect of his measures would be to admit few, very few, foreign goods; to the former, who naturally inquired in what then consisted their utility? he answered, they would admit some, and that too large an importation would cause great immediate distress. He had a difficult part to perform, and the improvements he had at heart could only be carried into effect by throwing dust in the eyes of those whose opposition would otherwise have overwhelmed him. His error lay in *saying* too much, from necessity we admit, to please the prohibitionists; for his *acts* were all against them, and in fact, as far as they went, were in complete accordance with the doctrines of Adam Smith; this the Americans will discover if they will condescend to examine "the Wealth of Nations" a little more closely. They are perpetually accusing us of being inconsistent supporters of the free-trade theory, while we impose duties as high as 20 or 30 per cent. on foreign manufactures. We answer in the words of Adam Smith, "the second case, in which it will generally be advantageous to lay some burden upon foreign for the encouragement of domestic industry, is, when some tax is imposed at home upon the produce of the latter."* Now this is exactly the case with England. Several of our manufactures are directly taxed, but it will be said not to the extent of 20 or 30 per cent., consequently, only part of the duty is accounted for. Again, with the same illustrious authority, we say, "the case in which it may sometimes be a matter of deliberation, how far or in what manner it is proper to restore the free importation of foreign goods, after it has been for some time interrupted, is, when particular manufactures, by means of high duties or prohibitions upon all foreign goods which can come into competition with them, have been so far extended as to employ a great multitude of hands. Humanity may in this case require that the freedom of trade should be restored only by slow gradations, and with a good deal of reserve and circumspection." This again is the case of England, and forms a sufficient reason why our duties should not in the first instance be lowered to a less rate than 20 or 30 per cent., considering that the old duties were 75 per cent., or prohibition. Now neither of these cases applies to America; they have not our burden of internal taxation, and they *had* not their tariff, consequently, in vain can they assert the example of England in raising their duties even to this height; and we are surprised that Mr. Cambreleng, in his excellent Report to Congress on Commerce and Navigation, should say that 30 per cent. duty

* Wealth of Nations, book 4, ch. 2.

"has been ascertained and settled in Great Britain, as the safest for the revenue, the best for manufactures, and the most equitable rate for all classes and interests."* The only reasons why there should be any duty at all, are contained in the above two quotations from Adam Smith, both of which are inapplicable to America. It is true that importation duties may be made a source of revenue, but in that case there can be no doubt that the amount levied would be much greater if the duty is lowered considerably beneath 30 per cent. After what we have said, it is almost needless to state that we are as much opposed to our corn laws as the Americans are. They should learn, however, that their reproaches for our inconsistency on this score fall utterly pointless, as those who advocate freedom in other matters (with one or two exceptions) advocate it in this also, and *vice versa*; consequently, the imputed inconsistency does not exist.

It is curious to read the reasons given by the American prohibitionists for imposing some of the additional duties contained in their last tariff. By their previous tariff, they had imposed duties sufficiently high, it was supposed, to prevent the importation of our woollen goods, when their nice calculations were completely upset by that politic measure of Mr. Huskisson, which reduced the duty on foreign wool imported into England from 6*d.* to 1*d.* or ½*d.* per pound, which of course gave our manufacturers an unlooked-for advantage. This was not to be borne; an indignity, it was declared, was put on the republic; could it be endured, exclaimed the Transatlantic wiseacres, that our revenue laws should be repealed by an act of the British legislature? A simple and obvious course was suggested by some, that they should also repeal their duties on foreign wool, and thus place the home manufacturer on the same footing with the British; but here another difficulty occurred. The wool-grower must have his *protection* as well as the manufacturer, and would it not be a disgrace to the country to allow this protection to be taken away by the act of a foreign nation? Only one other course remained, which was to increase the duties on woollen goods, and they were accordingly raised to from 45 to 108 per cent. As might naturally be expected, the effect of these impolitic prohibitions has been sensibly felt in the extended distress and smuggling which they have occasioned. Mr. M'Vickar, the intelligent lecturer on political economy in Columbia College, says, in his introductory lecture,

"Our population is not only checked, it is actually diminished. Last year there was a falling off of 1,413,000 dollars in the amount of duties

* Report on Commerce and Navigation, p. 38.

collected in this port, equal to a diminished importation of 4,000,000, dollars. Our ship-yards are abandoned, our ships rotting at the wharves, and our tonnage less than it was twenty years ago."

The prohibitive system, once admitted as true, can stop no where till every trade is subjected to it. The American hemp-growers asked why they should not be protected as well as the wool-growers, the iron manufacturers, &c.; the duty on hemp was consequently raised to 12*l.* 5*s.* a ton, and after 1831 it is to be 13*l.* 8*s.* The consequence is, that the manufacture is fast disappearing under the competition of the Russians, who imported into the United States, in 1819, only 251,356 pounds of cordage, and in 1829, 1,848,254 pounds, while in four years, ending 1829, the consumption of the Boston cordage mills decreased from 430 tons to 147.* But there are other results behind even worse than this; the ship-owners, naturally preferring the untaxed cordage of Russia to the taxed American, send their ships out on the Russian voyage half-rigged, to the hazard of the seamen's lives, for the sake of completing their equipments at St. Petersburgh, and bringing back a double supply, thus depriving the revenue of the duty on its consumption; for large as is the use of Russian cordage, as stated in the figures given above, it is in fact more than one third greater than this, as appears from the Russian accounts of exportation to the United States; the mode in which the vessels are rigged explains why the addition does not appear in the American revenue accounts. By these various duties on sail-cloth, on hemp, on iron, and in fact on every thing that is employed in ship-building, Mr. Cambreleng states, that a premium of nearly four hundred pounds sterling is enjoyed by an English as compared with an American ship-builder in fitting out a ship of 500 tons. Need we then wonder that the ratio of foreign to American tonnage, entering American ports, has been rapidly increasing? that of England in particular has advanced from 15½ per cent. in 1820, to 38½ per cent. in 1828, while, under the system of free-trade granted them by England, our North American colonies, in spite of their small population, have a greater quantity of tonnage engaged in foreign trade than the whole United States.

But even articles which are solely produced in the country have not escaped this duty fever, and the freedom from internal excise, so long the boast of America and the envy of England, is no more. Salt and brown sugar are subject to taxation, not wholly, however, excise, from 80 to 275 per cent., though the internal duty alone is in some of the States as high as 100 per cent.

* Report on Commerce and Navigation.

Under this mistaken system, smuggling has of course increased to an enormous extent, principally across the Canada frontier. If every man in the American army, which reckons under 6000 men, was employed in guarding the frontier, there would be too few to prevent the ingress of the smuggler. If that army was increased twentyfold, it would be still insufficient to watch the immense boundaries. How can the Americans suppose that, with such small means, they can effect what France and England have been utterly unable to do with their small comparative extent of frontier, and immense array of preventive service? The answer, which the American prohibitionists make, when pressed with this argument, is inconceivably absurd. A pamphlet, published at Baltimore, with the appropriate signature of Mephistopheles, as an answer to Mr. Cambreleng, declares that American manufactures have been so improved in quality and lowered in price, since the passing of the tariff, that they are now beating the English in foreign markets. "Even now the British cottons in South America owe their currency to fraud. They are flimsy imitations of substantial American wares, bearing counterfeit marks." The *North American Review*, which seems to be the Coryphæus of American illiberalism, in its 66th Number, has a long and laboured article in defence of the tariff. It endeavours to repel the assertion, that encouraging their manufactures by these protective duties will produce a spirit of insubordination and ferocity in their border inhabitants, from the smuggling pursuits in which they will be constantly engaged. An article in the *Edinburgh Review* is alluded to; the American writer begins with the following flourish:—

"Lest the reader should be tempted to question the testimony of our eyes, which we have found some difficulty in believing ourselves, we quote the passage as it stands in the article before us. 'The Americans, instead of having the population on their frontier engaged in the clearing of land, and extending the empire of civilization, will imbue them with predatory and ferocious habits, and teach them to defy the laws, and place their hopes of rising in the world, not in the laborious operations of agriculture, but in schemes to defraud the public revenue.' The Latin poet tells us that it is the cultivation of the arts that prevents men from being ferocious;

Ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.

Our critic, on the contrary, has discovered that it makes them so, and that the interior of the republic, which has now, it seems, become all at once a paradise of innocence and refinement, is to be demoralised by the invasion of the demon of domestic industry!"

We pass over the ignorance of the sense in the above hack-

neyed Latin quotation (we should be sorry to take it as a specimen of American classical knowledge) displayed by the critic, with a recommendation to inquire of some schoolboy the meaning of "ingenuas artes" before he again applies it to manufacturing or "domestic industry." What we wish to remark is, the species of reasoning and misrepresentation, by which the Americans are deluded into a support of their tariff. No one that we ever heard of, certainly not the Edinburgh Review in the passage quoted by the American critic, ever maintained that the practice of domestic industry imbued the people with predatory and ferocious habits, as the writer intimates. The Scotch critic expressly says, "population on the frontier," the American transforms this into "the interior of the republic," as gross a misrepresentation as could well be made. The introduction of manufactures by these means must infallibly cause these ferocious habits to become general among the border peasantry. Does the example of England and France go for nothing, or are not our coast peasantry in Sussex and Hampshire in the state here described from the effects of our clinging to a small part of the prohibitive system? Nations, it seems, are always unwilling to be taught from the experience of each other, and the Americans must learn in the school of adversity, by the actual infliction of these evils, the truth of this unhappy effect of prohibitions.

Another injurious effect of these measures, of the most vital importance to America, is the diminution they have caused in her shipping. Mr. Cambreleng gives ample proof in support of this. Notwithstanding the vast increase of her population since 1807, and the addition of the commerce of the fertile countries of Florida and Louisiana, it appears that the tonnage belonging to the United States, entering from abroad, in 1828, was actually 265,095 tons less than entered in 1807. Some of these statements of Mr. Cambreleng the tariff arguers have endeavoured to controvert. But it is quite clear, without reference to facts, that some diminution must have taken place. This is one of those questions on which the unassisted aid of theory throws a clear and certain light, and in which, the data being laid down, we may arrive at a conclusion without the hazard of being wrong. How is it possible, that when the Americans have imposed prohibitive duties on almost every article of foreign growth and manufacture, when they have done all in their power to exclude from their country every thing that foreigners had to give in exchange, the result can be otherwise than Mr. Cambreleng asserts it to be? When there are fewer things to be carried, must there not be fewer carriers? But, besides the accounts of the American shipping, we can give other proofs of the truth of the con-

clusion to which Mr. Cambreleng has arrived. As Cuba lies close upon the borders of the United States, and possesses a soil abounding with the richest products, and a capital city, which is one of the greatest centres of commerce in the American archipelago, the trade between it and the United States is consequently immense. A late number of the "Revue Encyclopédique" contains extracts from some Spanish official documents, from which we have formed the following table of the number of ships belonging to the United States and England, which entered and departed from its ports in 1827 and 1828. The amount of tonnage is not given; but it is to be observed, that the proportion, which the English bears to the United States shipping, is really much larger than is indicated by the number of the vessels, a circumstance which arises from the greater size of the English ships, owing to the length of the voyage they have to make.

Number of vessels belonging to the United States and England respectively, which entered and departed from the ports of Cuba in 1827 and 1828.

	ENTERED.		DEPARTED.	
	United States Vessels.	English Vessels.	United States Vessels.	English Vessels.
1827	1242	166	1107	151
1828	1175	206	990	175
Difference	—67	+40	—117	+24

Thus it appears, under the different systems of the two countries, the United States shipping entering Cuba decreased 67 vessels in a year, while ours increased 40. We also add, from the same source, a table of the value of the imports into Cuba from the two countries, which shows more unequivocally the decaying condition of the trade of the United States and the increase, *pari passu*, of that of England.

Value of imports into Cuba from the United States and England respectively, in the years 1827 and 1828.

	1827.	1828.	
			Decrease.
United States.	£1,432,535	£1,319,819	£112,716
			Increase.
England. . . .	323,674	354,017	£30,343

Thus it appears, that while our exports to Cuba with our unshackled trade increased upwards of thirty thousand pounds sterling in a year, the exports of the United States fell off in the same time more than a hundred and twelve thousand pounds. And yet the Americans talk of their having supplanted British goods in foreign markets. Is Jonathan so utterly blind as not to see, that if this statement be true, if they do undersell British goods in foreign markets, if their manufactures are really cheaper than ours, the tariff is entirely useless, and the only ground for maintaining it cut away? Were this the case, is it not as clear as any axiom in Euclid, that if the admission of British goods into New York were as unrestricted as that of the wind, not a bale could possibly be sold? And yet the Mephistopheles answer* to Mr. Cambreleng's report, which we have alluded to before, speaks of this supplanting of our manufactures as a fact, and the Harrisburg delegates gravely state, that "large quantities of American manufactured cotton goods are exported from New York to Canada, and the people are supplied with cottons cheaper than they can import them from England, the import duty of 15 per cent. being honestly paid!" and still more extraordinary, that they smuggle cottons into England, finding it now convenient not to pay the duty, that duty, be it observed, being 10 per cent.! We have either formed far too high an estimate of American intellect, or the Harrisburg delegates must have grossly libelled it.

The declamation and reasoning with which the American tariff advocates pretend to controvert the free-trade doctrines of British writers are almost incredible, and would lead one to believe that they had their origin in the latitudes of Spain and Sicily, rather than in a country professing to contain the most intelligent and sagacious population on the face of the earth. The Harrisburg delegates, an assembly chosen by the manufacturers to represent their wishes, and therefore, we should suppose, not the least sagacious of their body, state that our free-trade doctrines are manufactured, like our cloths, for exportation to America; as if there were no French, Russian, or Italian writers who maintained the same opinions, or as if the "Wealth of Nations," which was published some years before the American independence, had just been written to deceive the Yankees. The same enlightened assembly, in answer to the assertion that

---

* In passing, we cannot help remarking, that the American tariff advocates seem to have a *cacoethes* of misquoting Latin. This writer, alluding to the clamour of some citizens for free trade, mangles the well-known line of Horace into *ardor prava civium jubentium*. Perhaps it would be too much to expect a knowledge of the Horatian metres in such a writer, but the unfortunate collocation of the words unhappily betrays his mode of construing them.

their prohibitions will injure the cotton grower and agriculturist, by diminishing the exportation of raw goods, or rendering it less profitable, state that this cannot be the case, because we lie under an absolute necessity of taking their cotton, and that when we can do without it, we shall in spite of them; as if they were to give us their cotton, good people, for nothing, or as if the time when we shall be able to do without it will not be greatly hastened by the premium which these prohibitions give to the Brazilian, East Indian, and Egyptian cotton growers.*

We fortify these opinions with a quotation from an author, who must be allowed, even by the Americans, to be free from the imputation of manufacturing doctrines for exportation to America to the profit of England. M. Say, speaking of the injurious results which would accrue to the South American States if they endeavoured to raise manufactures by impeding the production of English, says, "Il est à craindre que les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique du Nord aient fait une faute pareille, pour *protéger*, selon leur expression, leurs manufactures. Ce qui mériterait d'être protégé chez eux, ou plutôt ce qui n'a pas besoin de protection, ce sont leurs produits agricoles, qui peuvent se multiplier indéfiniment, et dont ils contrarient le développement, en refusant de recevoir des marchandises manufacturées dont les étrangers seraient obligés de faire venir les retours en produits de l'agriculture."†

---

* As another instance of American tariff reasoning, we give the following from a work of high character and circulation:—

"As all commerce is an exchange of equivalent values, and as the value of all objects is determined by the quantities of labour respectively bestowed upon their production, it is certain, that if we send to Europe in exchange for manufactures the produce of the labour of three million of persons, or whatever other number we choose to assume, the manufactures we receive in return must also be the produce of the labour of the same number, and if made at home would give employment to an equal number of our own citizens, and create a new demand of proportional extent for the agricultural produce necessary to their support. In other words, the domestic manufactures, competent to supply us with the articles we now receive from Europe, would give us, on the above supposition as to the number of persons employed in producing our exports, which will probably not be thought too high, a manufacturing population of three millions, and an *additional agricultural one of three more*, making a total addition to the population of six millions, and of the products of the labour of six million persons to the annual revenue of the community ..... another effect of the same cause would be, as we have already shown (?), to occasion a greatly increased consumption of manufactures; and in the same proportion in which this increase should take place, would the *addition to the population and wealth of the country be greater than we have stated it above.*"—*North American Review, No.* 66. The millions mount like Falstaff's men in buckram; with the last addition, the writer calculates that between seven and eight millions are to be added to the American population by the enactment of their tariff! He also says that the only effect of the tariff will be to make England send gold instead of manufactures to the United States, that he is not a partizan of the balance of trade, and he recommends his antagonist to read Adam Smith! *Risum teneatis.*

† Cours d'Economie Politique. Quatrieme Partie, ch. 19.

Another point in which the Americans have also lately gone astray is what they call "the system of internal improvement." Indeed, they seem to be fully aware of the advantage that may be gained by the advocates of a cause by giving it a good name. There is no better way of concealing a fallacy or preparing for an attack on an opponent. The prohibitive system, which we have described above, they have christened the "American system," and every one opposed to it they have accused of being un-American, in the interests of England, &c. In like manner, whoever is not favourable to the "system of internal improvement," they charge with being adverse to internal improvements, forgetting, that besides the goodness of the end there is something else to be considered, viz. the fitness of the means.

This system consists in investing the general government with a power to spend the public money in making roads and canals over the whole country. The Americans, it seems, have conceived the most extravagant ideas of what may be effected by these means. Lines of communication by land and by water are to branch out from Washington to every part of their immense territories; from a town which, though the capital, does not contain above 13,000 inhabitants, which is not situated in any of the great lines of traffic, and yet is to be made the centre of works equalling, in American imaginations, any thing that old Rome or Napoleon ever produced. We believe the first attempt to introduce this innovation was made in 1817, when a bill giving the government this power, after passing both houses, was lost by the veto of the President. Jefferson opposed it to the utmost of his power; in 1825, when the system appears to have taken firm root, he writes, that he had for some time considered the question as desperate, and that those who thought with him were "in a state of perfect dismay, not knowing what to do or what to propose."* He declared that the assumption by government of these powers was an open infraction of the constitution, and prepared an energetic protest from the State of Virginia to the general Congress, in which he plainly intimates, that if Congress proceeded in this course, his State, though long-enduring, would at length raise the banner of disaffection. A short time before his death he wrote, with reference to this question:

"We must have patience and longer endurance, then, with our brethren, while under delusion; give them time for reflection and experience of consequences; keep ourselves in a situation to profit by the chapter of accidents; and separate from our companions only when the sole alternatives left are the dissolution of our union with them, or submission to a government without limitation of powers."

* Jefferson's Memoirs, vol. iv. p. 424.

But this advice was utterly thrown away on the American statesmen: Jefferson declares, that one might as well reason with marble columns. The present President, General Jackson, has, however, had the firmness to oppose the general current, by putting his veto on a road bill, which passed the Houses last session: and in his recent message to Congress, he has entered at great length into the policy of the system, and expressed himself opposed to it: he has, however, lost popularity by this conduct, and most of the newspapers, which we have seen, declare this veto to have been not only highly injurious to the general welfare, but absolutely unconstitutional. At the ceremony of commencing the Mohawk and Hudson rail roads in New York, last July, being the first rail road ever attempted in that State, Mr. Cambreleng made some judicious observations on this subject.

"No general government," he says, "ever did, or ever will, manage roads and canals, or distribute the funds for their construction with the justice, economy, or discretion, that private corporations, local authorities, or state governments, are compelled to exercise. But this question does not rest merely on the maxims of philosophy. We have evidence more unquestionable—the examples of France and England. The former acts on the national system, and the consequence is a few good roads radiating from the capital, and the rest, by far the most numerous, almost impassable; in the latter, they have been suffered to grow up under the local authorities, and the whole country is covered with good roads."

This reasoning is perfectly correct, and the examples are appositely chosen, except that Mr. Cambreleng might have gone still farther in depreciating the results of the French intermeddling system. The roads branching from Paris are even for the most part infamously made; the lines of communication to Lyons and Rouen, the first towns of France after the capital, are during the winter almost impassable, while in many parts the crackbone *pavé* system still exists, to attest the inherent slowness of governments in adopting improvements which have been long effected by individuals. We would not only prohibit the General Congress, we should even doubt the propriety of allowing the State Governments to engage in making roads and canals. The ridiculous mode in which even those works, the execution of which would seem to fall more peculiarly within the province of government, are sometimes carried on, affords ample reason for permitting it to do as little in this way as possible. Our mast-pond at Portsmouth is a memorable instance of this, it having been ordered to be discontinued after being six years in progress, on its being proved to the Finance Committee that it would require 176 years for its completion, and cost the public £132,000,000! an instance of official folly, which we can only parallel by what occurred

in France with respect to the national map, an undertaking which, when it had been laboured at for ten years, was declared by M. de Tracy, in the Chamber of Deputies, impossible to be completed under a hundred years, or at a less expense than four millions sterling.

Unlimited *toleration of religious opinions* is so generally the rule in the United States, that it would be perhaps invidious to remark the few exceptions that exist, were it not for noting the anomalous fact, that our Parliament was, last session, on the point of passing a bill, which would have granted to a religious sect political privileges, of which that sect is still deprived on account of their opinions in some sections of the Union. In Maryland, the Jews, as well as all persons who deny the truth of the Christian religion, are prohibited from holding all offices of trust or profit; while in North Carolina the exclusion is extended to all who do not hold the Protestant faith. In no other States are there any political disabilities on account of religious belief; the last named State may still take example from us on the subject of toleration.

The publication of *newspapers* is carried in the United States to an extent unparalleled in any other quarter of the globe. A settlement is no sooner made in any of the back woods than a newspaper is instantly established; indeed a vehicle for the communication of ideas, by which the inhabitants may, as it were, hold converse with the remotest parts of the Union, is deemed almost as indispensable to a village as houses; and, we imagine, this fact may serve to account for the universality with which education is extended throughout the Union. In many, we believe we may say in most, parts, it is impossible to meet with a person in any rank of life who is unable to read and write; such being the case, it is evident, that so powerful an instrument of civilization, unless perverted to a bad end, must bring into play a mass of intelligence which we might expect would produce the happiest effects.

But is it perverted to a bad end? We regret we cannot answer this question so satisfactorily as we could wish. Jefferson, whom we love to quote whenever his testimony can be made available, gives a harsh opinion on this point.

"It is a melancholy truth," he says, "that a suppression of the press could not more completely deprive the nation of its benefits than is done by its abandoned prostitution to falsehood. Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle."*

* Jefferson's Memoirs, vol. iv., p. 83.

Again, writing to Doctor Jones:—

"I deplore with you the putrid state into which our newspapers have passed, and the malignity, vulgarity, and mendacious spirit of those who write for them; and I enclose you a recent example, the production of a New England judge, as a proof of the abyss of degradation into which we have fallen. These ordures are rapidly depraving the public taste, and lessening the relish for sound food. As vehicles for information and a curb on our functionaries, they have rendered themselves useless, by forfeiting all title to belief."

This is a lamentable picture, which happily could not be drawn in the first thirty years of their independence; for it is fearful to think what would have been the result if Washington had been driven from his post, which Jefferson states he certainly would have been, had he been assailed with the degree of abandoned licentiousness afterwards practised, "which," he writes in 1805, "is confounding all vice and virtue, all truth and falsehood, in the United States."

Let it not, however, be concluded that the freedom of the press is the cause of its licentiousness. The French press, which is much freer, is, at the same time, infinitely less open to the imputation of slander than our own, which seems to hold a middle station between the American and the French, being as much superior to the former as it is inferior to the latter. The abusive tone of the American press is to be sought for in other causes. Mr. de Witt Clinton, the late Governor of New York, attributes it, in a great measure, to the injudicious provisions relative to the office of the President. The election to this office engenders party spirit to so violent a degree, that, says the Governor, "it has violated the sanctity of female character, invaded the tranquillity of private life, and visited with severe inflictions the peace of families." This cause, doubtless, has some share in the result complained of; but we imagine that a more fertile source of the evil is to be found in the unintellectual character of the population, arising from the non-existence of any means of advancement in knowledge beyond the merest elements. In support of this fact, the unimpeachable testimony of Dr. Channing may be adduced. He says—

"That there are gross deficiencies in our common schools, and that the amount of knowledge which they communicate, when compared with the time spent in its acquisition, is lamentably small, the community begin to feel. There is a crying need for a higher and more quickening kind of instruction than the labouring part of society have yet received; and we rejoice that the cry begins to be heard. We do and must lament, that however we surpass other nations in providing for and spreading elementary instruction, we fall behind many in provision for

the liberal training of the intellect, for forming great scholars, for communicating that profound knowledge, and that thirst for higher truths, which can alone originate a commanding literature. The truth ought to be known. There is among us much superficial knowledge, but little severe persevering research; little of that consuming passion for new truth, which makes outward things worthless; little resolute devotion to a high intellectual culture. There is nowhere a literary atmosphere, or such an accumulation of literary influence, as determines the whole strength of the mind to its own enlargement and to the manifestation of itself in enduring forms."*

This is confirmed, if, indeed, the statement of such a writer requires confirmation, by the accounts of most travellers. In fact, it is the natural effect of the situation of the country. When such a quantity of land remains unappropriated, it is not to be supposed that the college student will prefer the intellectual toils and uncertain gains of a literary life to the easy independence that is offered in the back woods; and, accordingly, he leaves the university or school long before he has acquired that degree of knowledge which is considered indispensable in European society. It would be as impossible to find readers as editors for publications which should discuss subjects with any degree of learning or profundity; consequently, light reading, which is too apt to degenerate into slander, is the prevailing taste, and we have been assured that novels alone return any considerable profit to the publishers.

This evil is, however, doubtless, only transient, and as America becomes more peopled, and intercourse more easy and rapid, must progressively diminish. Though while we ascribe this effect, in great measure, to natural causes, we cannot but think that the growth of literature might be considerably hastened, if government would co-operate in removing some obstacles which prevent its expansion. One of these is the utter want of good public libraries, than which there cannot be a greater drawback to literary exertion. Philadelphia, one of the largest and most literary cities in the Union, is said to contain 65,000 volumes in its public institutions. This, at first sight, looks considerable; but when we learn that sixteen public libraries make up this number, giving much under 5,000 volumes to each, it is evident that there must be many duplicates, and its literary treasures very small. The absurdity of imposing a duty of 15*d.* per pound on imported books must be a great impediment to the formation of libraries; what reason there can be for keeping up this duty we cannot conceive; it seems to be the determi-

* The Importance and Means of a National Literature, by W. E. Channing, D.D. London. 1830.

nation of the Americans to cause the blasting effects of their tariff policy to be felt by every interest. But that spirit of pride, which leads us to contemn what we do not possess, has unhappily had its effect on the Americans, and induced them to undervalue the advantage of public libraries, as well as of many other European institutions, which might have been usefully introduced among them. Mr. Dwight, a traveller from the United States, who published a tour in Germany, makes some laudatory observations on the splendid libraries in that country, and laments their want in his own, as placing a great impediment to the advancement of its literature. For this he is taken to task by his American reviewer, who assures him that discoveries will not be made, or the taste of foreign literature promoted, by "the facility of accumulating quotations by means of huge libraries,"* and that the taste of the Republic will not be dictated to, a strain of remark, which also forms the burden of some of Mr. Cooper's observations, in that mass of conceit and self-complacency, *Notions of the Americans, picked up by a Travelling Bachelor*. Dr. Channing, who possesses a mind superior to these vulgar prejudices, boldly acknowledges that they "want universities worthy of the name, where a man of genius and literary zeal may possess himself of all that is yet known," and that "intellectual labour, devoted to a thorough investigation and a full developement of great subjects, is almost unknown among us."† Jefferson also makes continual complaint, in his Memoirs, of the parsimonious spirit and utter disregard of the interests of literature evinced by the Virginian legislature, in refusing all aid to the university he was struggling to found.

The removal of the *seat of government* from Philadelphia, in 1800, and its establishment in a city which even now does not contain more than thirteen thousand inhabitants, we cannot but consider as having been, in many respects, highly injurious to the country. The small increase of their capital in thirty years must have convinced the Americans of the error they have committed; had it been situated in any of the great lines of commercial intercourse, as it ought to have been, it would long since have attained a respectable rank among cities. The various good effects that result from establishing the government in a populous city are almost too obvious to require mentioning. There, men of science, of business, and of pleasure, naturally resort; there, all that the wealth, the talent, the industry of the country can produce, is, in a great measure, condensed; far greater facilities are

* North American Review, No. 63.

† Importance and Means of a National Literature, p. 36.

given to the executive for obtaining intelligence and sounding the wishes and feelings of the people; while the presence of the representatives, and the excitement of constant political discussion diffuses juster notions of the wants and situation of the country, which diverge from this point as from a focus to every corner of the empire. The establishment of the government in a comparatively uninhabited spot must also deprive it in a great degree of that weight and influence which it ought to possess and would exercise, if situated in a populous neighbourhood. An incidental effect of this is also seen in the non-existence of leading newspapers in the United States; for there is no city which possesses all the requisites combined for furnishing a daily journal with information on those important topics which are constantly agitating the public mind. A stranger, wishing to know the state of France or England, refers to a newspaper published in their respective capitals, and would never think of consulting any other. If the United States are the object of his inquiries, is he to read a journal published at Washington, the seat of government, at Philadelphia or Boston, the seats of literature, or at New York, the most populous and mercantile town in the Union? In Paris and London these requisites are all combined; the Americans have it in their power to cause at least two of them to be found in the same place; besides, we should think, convenience would require that the seat of government should be fixed, not in the centre of the territory, but in the centre of the population; the disadvantage under which a few of the deputies would lie, by having a greater distance to travel, being more than counterbalanced by the much smaller space which the great majority would have to traverse. The establishment of some leading newspapers might also have the effect of banishing the piebald English and the general want of talent which characterize their journals, and of introducing a better tone of discussion among them. At present, the most ably conducted American newspaper does not sell more than 2,000 copies, a number to which very few attain, while half that quantity is considered to constitute a very respectable circulation. With the small profits which so limited a sale can produce, it is evidently impossible to induce a person of high intellectual attainments to devote his time and talents to the drudgery of daily composition; in fact, the greatest part of their journals are merely vehicles for advertisements, like many of the English provincial ones, whose small sale is the cause of similar results.

We cannot close this article without making some observations *on the mutual dispositions of England and America.* With respect to the latter country, were we to take the tone of the newspapers as the test of public opinion, the conclusion, as far

as our observation goes, would be any thing but flattering to England. But, for the reasons above given, we are unwilling to take these as authorities on the subject; though as periodical literature, from its very nature, must always afford some index to the state of public feeling, and as the Americans have several Reviews, which, in point of general talent, will stand a comparison with the best of our own, we may refer to these as indicating, in some slight measure, the disposition of well-informed Americans towards this country. An examination of them, we regret to say, leaves a very disagreeable impression on our minds, such, at least, as convinces us that the Americans cannot with any degree of propriety complain of that illiberality of sentiment, which, they maintain, always pervades one or two of our Reviews when treating of the affairs of their country. As an instance of this, we give the following quotation from the last number of the *American Quarterly Review*, edited by Dr. Walsh,* a work which bears the highest character in the United States. In it, England is thus described:—

"A haughty and interested nation, long since arrived at that state which makes it indispensable for her to sacrifice all the obligations of national reciprocity to that great monopoly of commerce, without which she must become bankrupt. In such a contest, whether of enactments of congress and orders in council, or by a resort to arms, it ought never to be forgotten that we can expect nothing but what is conceded to our strength and resources, to our means of offence and defence, to our courage and skill. The present calm with England is, we think, destined to be of short duration; nor will she ever sincerely seek our friendship, until admonished, perhaps at no distant period, by her waning influence in the Old, she shall feel herself obliged to link her sinking fortune to the rising strength and glories of the New World. It is far from our will or intention to revive or strengthen the recollection of ancient grievances or recent struggles, with a view to perpetuate or aggravate them. But, at the same time, we feel it our duty to indicate to this young nation, apt as it is to forget the lessons of experience and adversity, the danger and the folly of being cajoled by Mr. Canning's lullaby of 'Mother and Daughter,' or the time-serving praises lavished on the Message of our present distinguished Chief Magistrate. Every thing indicates that the popular feeling is hourly acquiring force and influence in England, and, in proportion as it operates upon the government, will be the impracticability of establishing any thing like a reciprocity in their commercial relations with the United States. The great mass of the people of England dislike the Americans, and certainly the Americans are no way backward in this species of reciprocity. No ad-

* This gentleman resided some years in Europe during the earlier part of his life, and it is understood, (though we are bound to disbelieve all reports of articles in Reviews being written by *single* individuals,) that he contributed *one* remarkable article at least, (if not more,) to the *Edinburgh Review*; we allude to that on the *French Conscription*, which appeared in the 26th Number of that Journal.

ministration in England will gain popularity by concessions to the United States, nor will the government of the United States ever probably much strengthen itself with the people, by toying with England. Even the people of England have been taught by a system of exaggerated falsehoods, unquestionably countenanced and encouraged as a matter of policy by the government, to look upon us with feelings of mingled contempt, hatred, and jealousy."

We would fain hope that the writer of this passage has made as false an estimate of the feelings of Americans as he certainly has of those of Englishmen. The ignorance which seems to prevail in America with respect to this point is perfectly astonishing, and we have a strong belief, which we most ardently hope is well founded, that their misapprehensions on this subject have contributed in no slight degree to cherish those feelings of dislike, which are described above as existing in America. In two parties, the existence, or supposed existence, of hate on one side quickly engenders a similar disposition in the other: may we not then hope that some advantage will be gained to the cause of peace and mutual goodwill, by denying in the most unqualified manner the truth of the assertion in the above paragraph, that "the great mass of the people of England dislike the Americans?" That the preceding extract rightly describes the sentiments of the Americans towards this country cannot, we are afraid, though we should be happy to find ourselves in error, be so easily denied. We have seen similar assertions repeated, and their correctness assumed, in numerous Transatlantic publications. The *North American Review*, a periodical which enjoys, with the one above named, the highest credit in the United States, writes in an exactly similar strain. In one of its latest numbers we read: "In England, generally speaking, the government party, inheriting the feelings of the year 1775, has not only retained the soreness and irritation of that period, but through the literary organs under its influence has libelled America, its institutions, its manners, and its citizens atrociously and systematically, and still does it." Captain Hall also states that in a debate, which he attended in the Congress, every speaker seemed determined in some way or other to drag in England for the sake of abusing it. We have diligently searched the American reviews of his Travels, in the hope of finding a refutation of this assertion, and should not have quoted it, had it not received a negative confirmation in the silence of his critics, who have ransacked the Captain's Travels for the purpose of exposing his mistatements with the minutest attention. To the complaint, which the Americans are perpetually making, that our government has instigated and sanctioned the attacks that have been made upon them, we can give no other answer than by expressing our

utter disbelief of the fact. We cannot credit that any set of ministers has ever incurred the disgrace of thus endeavouring to excite animosities between the two nations; at any rate the present ones cannot be liable to this imputation, and we trust the calumny will never be repeated. We do not deny that there is a party, or rather the remnant of a party in this country, to whom abuse of America as well as of every other nation where a free and liberal government is established, is always palatable. There are also some persons among us, (as there are in America—Mr. Cooper is a signal instance,) who are affected with that feeling of ultra-nationality, which can see no merit in that which is foreign, no fault in that which is at home. But the publications which lay themselves out for catering to the appetites of these two classes, are few in number, and we may safely assert, that their feelings are in no degree general or even common in England. By far the greatest part of our newspapers, magazines, and other periodical literature, not only are wholly free from the reproach which the Americans cast on them, but are generally disposed to treat with more than ordinary favour and goodwill America and her institutions. Let the people of the United States look at our parliamentary debates which relate to them, particularly on the sore subject of their tariff, or the still sorer one of the duty they imposed on rolled iron, in direct contravention of the spirit of a treaty, being in fact a discriminating duty in favour of a Russian and Prussian manufacture against an English one. Throughout the numerous speeches, not a sentence, not a word will they find in the least degree indicative of that deeply-rooted spirit of hostility or dislike, that malignant feeling, which they charge us with entertaining towards them.

But the real truth is, there is very little known or thought of in England concerning America. We do not profess to account for this utter indifference—we simply assert the undoubted fact, that Englishmen seldom bestow a moment's attention on Transatlantic institutions, manners, literature, or government; whatever the Americans do, or think, or propose, seems to be looked upon by us with the most listless disregard. Hence they are continually committing errors from ignorance of this fact. The 68th number of the *North American Review* contains a petulant article in reply to a British critic, who had asserted that not more than three or four American authors enjoy any reputation among us. Now we are confident that nineteen-twentieths of our readers would be puzzled to mention half-a-dozen American writers, whose works they were acquainted with. The Transatlantic reviewer, endeavouring to make out a list of writers, exclaims in a tone of indignant reproach, "Did our critic never hear of Fisher Ames?"

We ask, have a dozen of our readers read his works? Another American genius is thus described by the reviewer.

"The beloved, admired, the lamented Buckminster, a miracle of genius, cut off indeed in the early morning of his brilliant promise, but not till he had produced works, which may well be compared with the mature efforts of the highest talents in the same departments of learning. His discourses are among the most elegant, finished and really valuable production of their class to be found in the English language . . . . considered simply as written sermons, they are undoubtedly superior to any that have appeared in England since the beginning of the present century."

Critics are supposed to know every thing, and we shall doubtless astonish our brethren by our boldness, when we confess that this is the first time the name of Buckminster has reached our ears. Have any of our readers heard of this writer, whose sermons are "superior to any that have appeared in England since the beginning of the present century?" On inquiry we find his works have been reprinted at Liverpool, and this is literally all the additional information we have been able to obtain concerning him. A book is advertised to be published in London, entitled "Specimens of American Poetry," which of course contains extracts from American writers of the greatest reputation. From the published list of the authors, whose works have contributed to form the selection, we take the following in the order in which they are given, "Sigourney, Pierpoint, Pickering, Ware, Bryan, Haven, Doane, Hillhouse." Have any of our readers ever even heard before of a single name among these? For aught we know, there may be Miltons, and Popes, and Byrons in the list, but unread they have been and will remain in England until some unexpected revolution takes place in the public mind. We trust it will not be supposed by the Americans that this indifference towards them arises from a feeling in any degree approaching to contempt; we do not profess to account for it, but we certainly share it in common with the inhabitants of the European continent. The "Biographie Universelle," which is by far the completest biographical dictionary that has yet appeared, and the standard work on the subject, is almost bare of American names. Neither "Fisher Ames," nor "Patrick Henry," who is considered the first of American orators, and who, according to Jefferson, spoke as Homer wrote, have a place in it, though they both died long before the volumes in which they should have appeared were published.

Perhaps the greater proximity of the civilized nations of the Old World to each other causes them to fill so large a space in the public eye, that there is no room to take in what is worth observing on the other side of the Atlantic. Perhaps it is sup-

posed that so lately formed a nation can present nothing worthy of remark. We give no opinion on this question, because, in truth, we have none to give. Certain it is, that we are infinitely more engaged in watching what is going forward in France and Germany, and the literature of those countries is infinitely better known to us than that of America. We are far from wishing to excuse this ignorance and apathy: we allow that both reason and interest should induce us to become better acquainted with the Americans, and utterly reject Captain Hall's theory, that it would be a "foolish wisdom" to extend our knowledge of their writings. At the same time we cannot but remark that they would do well to improve their acquaintance with England, superior as it no doubt is to ours of America. An American review just published uses as an argument against the dissolution of the Union, (a question to which the impolitic enactment of their tariff has given rise,) that the separated parts would soon fall into the power of England. Little do they know the opinions prevalent here, if they imagine we think we have not colonies enough, or that we would not infinitely sooner have them as allies than as subjects. This is a branch of the same system of error, which leads them to suppose that the remembrance of their successful rebellion still rankles in our breasts, and that we view their growing prosperity with malignant dissatisfaction. It can never be too often repeated, that such is not the feeling or the spirit of Englishmen. If we have spoken harshly of the Americans in this article, the commendations which we have unsparingly intermingled will show that our minds are unbiassed by prejudice, and capable of duly appreciating whatever may seem worthy of praise; and in our strictures, we have been particularly careful to take as authorities only such writers as every American could not but allow are wholly free from what they call British hatred or prepossessions against America. We look upon the course they have run—and in this we are sure we speak the sentiments of every thinking Englishman—with wonder, admiration, and pleasure; and we can assure them, that it is no less our wish than our interest, a wish which we hope to see re-echoed from beyond the Atlantic, that the ties of the sincerest friendship, and the mutual benefits of a continually increasing intercourse, may bind together England and the United States in the bonds of a never-ending alliance.

ART. XI.—1. *Minerva.*—2. *Orphea.*—3. *Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen.*—4. *Frauentaschenbuch.*—5. *Urania.*—6. *Musen Almanach.*—7. *Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft gewidmet.*—8. *Penelope.*—9. *Vergissmeinnicht.*—10. *Wintersgrün.*—11. *Cornelia.*

IT has often appeared to us not a little singular that our annuals, considered as literary performances, should, on the whole, be so remarkably poor, tedious, and commonplace. Their outward presence is most imposing: they "walk in silk attire," fringed with gold; their embellishments are triumphs of the pencil and the graver; great names adorn the lists of their contributors, while the high pressure of exorbitant remuneration is lavished on the getting-up of articles. And yet when the glossy binding has been admired, the plates examined and canvassed, what is an annual? A collection in general of trifling tales, without interest either of plot or execution, poems generally below mediocrity, tragical attempts at mirth, or feeble washy sketches "in the soft line," —all many degrees inferior to similar productions in any respectable magazine. And what at first adds to our surprise, the compositions which bear the greatest names are, in nine cases out of ten, the worst. If by any chance we light upon something less commonplace than the rest, the probability is, that it bears the superscription of some one unknown to fame. Now we think there are two reasons, among others, which make our annuals flat and unprofitable. Booksellers will have great names to dignify their list of contents; and in this country, where the annuals, succeeding the pocket-books or memorandums of last century, have always been looked upon as a kind of *parvenus* in literature, —very gaudy, assuming, and empty-headed: the best productions of great names (we say it to the credit of our literary men) are not so to be purchased. A scrap from some unfinished tale which the author has found himself unable to wind up, some copy of verses for a lady's album, a stray sonnet, or some juvenile indiscretion in the shape of a tragedy, may no doubt, by the proper application of the golden key, be extracted from the recesses of an author's writing-desk, and ushered with much pomp and a strong flourish of the editorial trumpet before the public. But invariably their better works are reserved for other purposes, and with the exception of a few pieces, bestowed "for love, not money," we hardly know an article in any of our annuals to which, in a separate shape, any of our distinguished authors would have cared to set his name.

Another cause of this defect is the shortness of the articles in such periodicals. The British public, it seems, must have va-

riety, and thus, in order to bring together some twenty or thirty imposing names, the space allowed to each must be proportionally narrowed. Hence there is no room for developement, no means of exciting interest by a complicated well-evolved plot, still less for any novel of manners, where the characters develope themselves in dialogue instead of being described by the narrator: and thus little else is ever exhibited with us but insulated scenes, or meagre outlines without detail or colouring.

There is much less of both these faults in Germany. Their annuals have long been admitted within the literary pale, and the greatest names have voluntarily chosen this vehicle of communication with the public. Goethe still continues in this manner to present his new year's greeting to his countrymen. Schiller's 'Thirty Years' War was written for a lady's almanack. The philosophic Kant and Jacobi, the majestic Klopstock, the wild and original Hoffman, have in this insinuating form instructed the public with their wisdom, or delighted and agitated it with their striking and grotesque combinations. Here the graceful Undine of Fouqué first awakened our sympathy for her fate; Apel, with the invisible world at his command, bewitched us with his dark and terrible fantasies; Laun, with his alternate tales of broad humour or romance; Lafontaine, with his calm domestic pictures of German life; Blumenhagen and Van de Velde, with their sketches of chivalry and the life of the middle ages; Richter, with his quips and cranks, his "Selections from the Devil's Papers," and "Dog-post Days," at once the laughing and crying philosopher—have in this shape passed before us in every aspect of the terrible, the tragical, the tranquil, or the humorous. There are but few years in which one delightful volume at least of elegant extracts from the Taschenbücher might not be made up. An author in Germany is not hampered as he is here; four or five tales in general fill the volume, so that he really has space enough, if he possesses the other requisites, to make the tales interesting and effective, not as fragments but as a whole. And accordingly many of the cleverest and most interesting romances and novels which have for years past formed the Christmas supply of our German neighbours, have been contained in these little volumes.

In one particular only, it must be admitted, the German progenitors of the annuals are sadly thrown into the shade by their descendants—we mean in the graphic and pictorial embellishments with which they abound. Now and then Retzsch condescends to employ his graceful hand on a design or two, or Naecke, as in his clever illustrations of Van de Velde's novels in the present number of the *Frauentaschenbuch;* but generally speaking, the "*hard* line," or drawing and engraving department, is in the

hands of such persons as Ramberg, Wagner, and Fleischman, and most extraordinary devices they do exhibit. There are illustrations by Ramberg to the *Minerva* of this winter, from the Sorrows of Werter, which we consider as (unintentionally) superior to any thing in the *Comic Annual;* and the situations and costume in which really would appear to be taken from that clever burlesque upon Goethe's youthful extravaganza, with which Matthews some years ago amused the public at the English Opera. There is the same wild disorder in the cravat, the same convulsive energy in the pantaloons, the same desperation in the cock of the hat. His attitude in the scene where he meets the crazed notary, and that where he is sprawling on the ground with Charlotte's children, are inexpressibly ludicrous. After all (we merely throw out a doubt), may not Mr. Ramberg be a wag, who thus with a grave face plays off his comic plates upon the public?—a German George Cruikshank, fighting in ambush under cover of sober and sentimental descriptions? Really, when we look at another set of illustrations by him to Marschner's Vampyr (a romantic opera of the Freyschütz school, of which the plot is taken from our own melodrama of the Vampyre,) which grace the *Orphea* of this year, we feel these doubts materially increased, for there is one plate representing Lord Ruthven tumbling over a precipice, while a boy seems to be firing a squib or other combustible behind him, which we regard as a deliberate and scarcely disguised joke. But the truth is, plates are after all a very secondary matter, and provided the text has that which passeth show, the suits and trappings of gilding and copperplate embellishment may almost be dispensed with.

Our readers need not fear that we intend to inflict upon them a complete *catalogue raisonnée* of the articles in these same periodicals. We propose to ourselves nothing more than a few rambling remarks on some of them, for the list contained in this article does not comprehend half of those "autumnal leaves" which strew the drawing-room tables of our fair German friends about this season. Even as it is, among this chaos which lies before us of

> "Blue covers and white,
> Green covers and grey,"

we hardly know where to begin; and so, waving all questions of precedency, either on the ground of age or merit, we put our hands into the wheel of this literary lottery, and the first ticket that comes up is

Minerva—a decided prize, were it only that it contains a drama by Oehlenschlager, founded on a portion of the life of Charlemagne. Of the living dramatists of Germany, this distinguished

Dane is now the first. His Aladdin, Axel and Walburg, and Hakon Jarl abound with striking scenes. His classical play of Correggio, with much of the severe purity of taste and high poetry of Goethe's Tasso, and exhibiting the struggle of genius against the pressure of adverse circumstances, as Goethe's play paints the contest between poetical enthusiasm and the prosaic spirit of the world, is more touching and more natural than its predecessor. There is much fine poetry too in Charlemagne, but it wants dramatic interest, and the character of Pepin, his son, is destitute of any thing either morally attractive or theatrically effective. Oehlenschlager has not in this case been fortunate in a subject. There is nothing particularly striking in the other contents of this volume. The "Tournament at Worms," by Caroline Pichler, is a tolerable tale, but scarcely worthy of the authoress of Agathocles. Then follows a very amusing travelling sketch by that authoress of all work, Johanna Schopenhauer, descriptive of a journey to Vienna and Austria; sundry poems, all pretty bad; and another tale by Storch, "Mineta's Ruin," a story of paganism, a great deal too Ossianic and antiquarian to be interesting. Minerva is further adorned by the melancholy scenes from Werter above alluded to.

"Proximus ardet Ucalegon"—*Orphea* is the next that presents itself, with more plates from that insidious wag, Ramberg, illustrative of the Vampyre. The two most interesting pieces in this volume are, one of Blumenhagen's chivalrous pageants, "Castle Leuenrode," and a tale of mystery, by Kruse. There is great life and bustle in Blumenhagen's sketch, particularly in that scene where the Duke of Hanover receives the deputation from the city, who come to intimate to him the rejection of his proposals, which reminds us, by its energy and truth, of Crevecœur's magnificent defiance to Louis, or the stirring scenes with the insurgent Liegeois. Blumenhagen has great intensity and power of conception in such scenes, and more ingenuity in the construction of his plots than his predecessor in the same line, Veit Weber. "The Black Heart," by Kruse, is a story in a different vein. Kruse is a man of very peculiar, and at the present day, *rare* powers of invention; for at present, though there is no deficiency in clever romance writers in as far as regards the painting of manners or character, or the natural construction of dramatic dialogue, there is a woeful deficiency in good plots. Indeed, with the exception of some of those stories in real life which sometimes adorn our Newgate Calendar, or the still more extraordinary occurrences which now and then are disclosed by the criminal records of France, we hardly know now-a-days where a good plot is to be met with. Now these are exactly the sources

from which Kruse has chiefly derived his materials. Tales of murder or secret crime, discovered by a chain of gradually emerging evidence, are his favourites, with which he is fond of blending the superstitious interest arising from the use of the supernatural. These may seem vulgar instruments for a novelist who addresses himself to the public mind, and so in truth they are in themselves. But they are applied in a manner so new and so artful—the chain of complexities winds itself about us so gradually, so naturally, and apparently so inextricably—and then unrolls itself again with such consummate art and vraisemblance, that in this respect we consider some of the tales in his Criminal-Geschichten as unrivalled. The story called the "Dance of Death," published by him in a separate volume, and a romance in three volumes, Deodati's Birth, are also most successful specimens of the circumstantial-evidence school of writing; though some parts of the latter would perhaps render it a perilous task for a translator. The present tale, though not equal to his best, is yet very good. The *nodus* of the tale turns on the principle of *resemblance*, an idea which, though as old as Plautus, seems still capable in the hands of a dextrous artist, who knows how to steer clear of a double Dromio and a double Antipholis, of producing a strikingly perplexing effect; while such tales of real life as that of Martin Guerre satisfy the reason of the possibility of such caprices of nature. Here, it is artfully managed, and combined most ingeniously with the supernatural. If an abridged outline could have given any idea of this tale, we should have been tempted to the task, but every thing lies in the art of the filling up. The other materials of this volume are trifling.

Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen, edited by Kind; a very venerable annual, now nearly forty years old, an age by no means common among this short-lived class. The illustrations are by Ramberg again; but to do him justice, they are far better than either of the other two productions we have noticed; they are from poor Heinrich Kleist's strange play of Catharine von Heilbronn—after all, the best, and unquestionably the most dramatic of his productions, and one or two of them are really good. The literary contents are decidedly so. The first tale, "Clemenza l'Hopital," by a very industrious and occasionally successful novelist, Frederika Lohmann, is varied and interesting. There are good things too in the editor's own contribution, "The Angel Seer," though it is too long drawn out. Kruse's novel, "Magnetic Love," which follows, is not one of his happiest efforts, though still the power of exciting curiosity never forsakes him. The tale, which is a story of animal magnetism, opens well, but it diverges into other channels very slenderly

connected with the first, and the winding-up is extremely unsatisfactory. Wolffe's "Humoreske," the "auto-biography of the Village Schoolmaster, Cyrillus Spangenbeck," is one of those pieces of heavy wit in which our neighbours now and then indulge, as they are said by Grimm to do, in leaping over chairs, in their anxiety to be lively. Some copies of verses which diversify the prose tales are pretty.

Frauentaschenbuch, by George Döring. There is a story of a Scotch author, who, after having tried Garrick with a tragedy and a comedy, both of which were rejected; and being told by the manager that his genius did not lie in either, begged him to tell him where it *did* lie. We feel something in the same way as to M. Döring. After reading his plays, we were instantly satisfied his genius did not lie in that direction; and on perusing a few of his novels we felt equally convinced that it did not lie in romance: and yet we had a kind of impression that he had some available talent about him, if he could only find a field for it. And when some years ago he took the editorship of the *Frauentaschenbuch*, once in the hands of a man of different calibre, La Motte Fouqué, we thought he had exactly found his sphere. But the unlucky Doctor, we suspect, is determined to disappoint us once more. His volume has not this year even the merit of a good selection. His own contribution is mawkish, and the others, by Schefer, Nidda, and Wilebald Alexis, are all indifferent. The best story in the volume is anonymous, viz. "the Miller's Daughter." This is told with a good deal of naïveté and grace. To balance the dullness of the literary part, the plates, which are illustrative of Van de Velde's novels, are better than those in many of its rivals.

Urania. We generally open the Urania with good hopes, and this year they will not be disappointed, for here the first and longest tale in the volume is by our old friend Tieck—the acute, learned, and tasteful Ludwig Tieck—an Italian head with a German heart—a deep-feeling, deep-thinking writer, but scattering over all his works a sunny glow of cheerfulness, and airy lightness, though not levity. This is he to whom Shakspeare and the writers of the days of Elizabeth are familiar as household words; who in his own country has touched upon every department of literature, and adorned them all, and moved the minds of his countrymen to laughter or tears, as he laid down or took up the comic mask or the tragic pall; the dramatist of Blue Beard and Puss in Boots, and the World turned Upside Down, of Fortunatus and Genoveva; and here he carries us back to the days of Baldwin, "the Emperor of Greece," and with that lightness and felicity of touch, which, next to Goethe, he peculiarly possesses, exhibits to

us in transitory glimpses the tumultuous scenes in Ghent under the nominal regency of his daughter.

Compared with some of the better tales in the Phantasus, "the Emperor of Greece" may appear deficient in force, but none can be insensible to the beauty of the verses which are liberally interspersed through the story. One ballad sung by Ferdinand, (p. 75,) "Will alles mich verlassen," is among the sweetest of the many little canzonets to which his prolific muse has given birth. Victor Hugo's "Orientals" have found a translator in Gustavus Schwab. He might have made a more judicious choice from the works of that clever but most unequal poet. "Scharfenstein," by Frederick von Heyden, which follows, is poor; and "Duvecke," which concludes the volume, a tragical tale from the History of Denmark, by Leopold Schefer, rather too broken, and too much in Veit Weber's elliptical manner for our taste. The plates to this volume are from French designs. The editor prefaces his volume with the announcement of a *prize* of ten louis d'or a sheet for the best Tale or Novel for next year's Urania (not to exceed five sheets); will not this magnificent prize tempt some of our readers to qualify themselves for the "concurrenz" by studying German on purpose? We recommend the project to all rejected contributors to our own annuals.

"Flectere si nequeant superos, Acheronta movebunt."

The *Musen Almanach* is entirely poetical, and consists of short pieces, lyrics, elegies, and so forth. It boasts great *names* amongst its contributors, but little more. This year it seems to us any thing but interesting. A few trifles from Goethe's pen no doubt it contains, but they are the merest trifles, and valuable only from recollection and association. Tieck's portrait adorns the volume,—a calm countenance, marked with strong traces of refinement and taste, "*con occhi tardi e gravi*," and with that good-humoured expression which we should naturally ascribe to him.

Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft gewidmet. We never particularly admired this pocket book, though it is rather a favourite in Germany, and we do not think it appears this year to advantage. Its comic plates by Ramberg, (who on this occasion *really* wishes to be comic,) are trifling and absurd. Its literary contents are "The Last Love," by Blumenhagen, a pathetic and well-told story; the "Swallows," by Frederika Lohmann, a clever tragical picture from the days of "Faustrecht;" and the "Birdnester," by Baron von Miltiz, a writer whom we never greatly liked, though he seems to be a persevering, if not a powerful, contributor; poems, by Döring, Schutz, (the editor,) Langbein, Chamisso, and others, complete the volume.

Penelope this year is good. Two drawings by Retzsch, one from Deinhardstein's play of Hans Sachs, the other from Auber's opera of Masaniello, are interesting, particularly the first. These are intended as the commencement of a Series of Theatrical Designs, to be continued through future volumes. "A day in the Vintage," by (thank heaven we have merely to write, not pronounce, the name,) the Ritter von Tschabuschnigg, is a pretty sentimental love story; the description of a poor student's Romance of a day, which is suddenly dissolved by discovering that he might as well have fallen in love with some particular star, as the exalted fair one who, in an "unguarded moment," has been betrayed into an apparent reciprocity of feeling. The story, however, is well told, and we have good hopes of the Great Unmentionable. "The Cataline of Hanover," by Blumenhagen, is also good, and so is the "Battle of Hochkirchen," by Frederika Lohmann; "Elizabeth, Countess of Holstein Schauenberg, a romantic historical picture," is rather deficient in interest; but Waiblenger's "Sketches from Italy," which follow, are piquant and interesting. "The Quartett," by Lehring, which concludes the volume, is cleverly told, and the poetical contributions, which are from Tiedge, Castelli, Hell, &c. more varied than usual.

The *Vergissmeinnicht* is this year edited by Spindler, who is favourably known here by his novel of the Jew, and, as usual, contains no poetry, but an interesting selection of tales. There are "The three Sundays, from the papers of an Artist;" "The Court at Castellaun;" "Dressing Gown and Cloak;" "The Romance of an Evening;" and "Forget me not." All these are from the pen of the able and industrious editor himself, and really the reader feels no want of variety in the volume. "The Court at Castellaun," and the "Forget me not," will, we think, be considered as the most generally interesting.

Wintersgrün. "Wintergreen," a very plain and unassuming annual published at Hamburg, contains nothing but a translation of Paul de Koch's novel "La Maison Blanche."

Cornelia is this year embellished with a set of engravings illustrative of German traditions, but none of any great merit. Nor are the literary contents at all striking, though the first story, which turns on the loves of Suffolk and Margaret, the sister of Henry VIII. is from the pen of Tromlitz. Tromlitz is, in general, a writer of great fertility of invention, and considerable skill in the conduct of a plot; he is, besides, a most industrious novelist, being generally a contributor to at least two or three of the annuals, but this year we seldom meet with him, and this, which is the only tale of his we have perused, has disappointed us. The opening promises a great deal, but it is not adequately

followed up. We anticipate a great deal from certain characters, who, after all, have no prominent influence on the story.

But we really feel the necessity of drawing to a close; and though we have not exhausted more than a third of the pocket books of the year, we can only assure the much-respected editors and contributors to the remaining twenty, that if we could have noticed their labours it should have been done. Next year the wheel of fortune may be more favourable to them, and the neglected Aglaias and Fortunas of this season take precedence of their rivals; for this purpose we recommend them to send us early copies, addressed to the care of our publishers. We wish well to them all, for to their varied contents—their tales of love and chivalry, of terror, and mystery,—their humoresques and capricci, we have been indebted for many a pleasant winter evening, and the reviving of many a pleasant association connected with the country of their birth.

CRITICAL SKETCHES.

ART. XII.—*Pensées sur l'Homme, ses rapports, et ses intérêts*, par Frédéric Ancillon. 2 vols. 12mo. Berlin. 1829.

THIS is a beautiful book, full of profound thinking and good feeling, and calculated to be especially useful to the small wits of the nineteenth century. It is the production of a man whose fertile pen has already given to Europe a numerous collection of valuable essays on philosophical and political subjects, and who, in all his works, is remarkable for the noble purity of sentiment which pervades them, and for the force, clearness, and precision, with which his views are expressed. It would, perhaps, have been scarcely excusable for any writer, whose opinion had not already obtained great weight in the world, to put forth his ideas in detached fragments, as Ancillon has here done, but he had previously acquired a reputation which fairly entitled him to comply, as he says, with the solicitations of his wife, to collect and arrange the fragments in his portfolio, and publish them in their present form. They are well suited for a relief and diversion to the scholar, wearied with long arguments and disquisitions—to the man of business, who wants often to seek other materials for reflection than are afforded by the busy hum of the world—and to the victim of *ennui*, who would be glad of some aid to the process of thinking, which should enable him, without fatigue, to take that wholesome exercise. Experience has shown that fragments of this kind, when really good, are much relished by the public, as the Thoughts of Labruyère and Pascal have especially testified, as well as the Maxims of La Rochefoucault, the Table Talk of Selden, and more recently, Mr. Colton's *Lacon*.

It is scarcely fair towards the author to judge, from one or two isolated extracts, of the general tone of his opinions. On Religion, particularly, *the whole* of his Thoughts deserve much attention, but we select the following as applicable to the connection between Church and State, the expediency of which is a point of so much difference of opinion in this country.

" Religion and law, the church and the state, exercise upon each other a reciprocal action and re-action. They are inseparable. Their respective wants ally and unite them. The laws protect religion, and religion supplies the wants of the laws, vivifies them, makes them loved and respected. From thence it in no way results that religion should be in the state, or the state in religion, or that either of them ought to be subservient to the other. They are two powers, or means, which concur to the same end, each in its manner, and after its nature. That end is the reign of justice, and of true liberty. Religion tends thereto by inward means; the laws by outward means. The one takes human actions in their source, judges them by their principles, and desires to perfect them in purifying their motives. The laws take them in their effects.

They are two distinct forces, which have many points of contact, but which can and ought never to be confounded. If you place the government of the state in religion, you will have a theocracy, and those who manage it, will cultivate religion and morals systematically for their own profit. If you make religion subordinate to the government, and place it in the state, you will see religion descend from its elevation to become a mere engine of police, and that the government will denaturalize it, by removing it from its proper sphere, to make it enter that of the government."—p. 39.

The degradation of Religion, by converting it into a political engine, is undeniable. There is also much truth in the following contrast between Catholicism and Protestantism.

"In the Catholic Church there is the more fixity; in the Protestant Church there is the more agitation of men's minds. In the former the authority of the Pope and of Councils weakens the authority of the Gospel. In the latter the total absence of external authority may weaken that of the Gospel. In the one liberty may expire in anarchy, in the other in despotism. In the one there is no church firmly established, for want of unity; in the other, the church is so stereotyped, that there is no real life in it, nor principle of sentiment and action." —p. 44.

Under the head of Science this passage is remarkable.

"The contradictions of men arise from each of them having different sensations, and from all of them associating the same terms, whilst some judge by sentiment, others by understanding, and others again by reason. But these three ways of judging cannot lead to the same results. The sentiment judges of objects by relation to itself; the understanding judges by relation to notions which are often arbitrary; the reason alone seizes truths by a peculiar and intuitive evidence."—p. 85.

Ancillon's views of Social Order and Governments are those of a man wholly beyond the reach of those petty political squabbles, and those party-coloured opinions, with which the peace of society is in all countries disturbed. As a proof how well he appreciates the difference of feeling between an aristocracy and a people, we may refer, among other sentences, to this very brief one.

"The nobles look back on the past, and in looking back on it they often remain motionless. The other classes look to the future, and march on."—p. 268.

The division, entitled "Jugemens Historiques," has convinced us how much historical matter may be read to no purpose, unless the reader possesses some of that philosophical discernment of which our author has so ample a share. His love for the ancients is thus beautifully expressed by Ancillon, himself an ancient, in respect of almost all the qualities he refers to.

"One loves the ancients as one loves freshness, calmness, simplicity, and nobleness. They transport us into a younger world, less agitated by the petty passions of society; they have less desire to produce effect than the moderns; they appear at a much greater height above things and events. Have they in fact, or do they only appear to have, these qualities? Have they them because their genius was in fact more original and their character more elevated? Do they seem to have them because the world in which they place us, so different from our own, makes us forget the latter? We may differ in opinion on the causes of the fact; the fact itself is incontestable."—p. 358.

"To read the ancients is to take a journey; journeys in time refresh and vivify perhaps more than journeys in space."—p. 358.

Although these volumes are written in French, their style strikes us as wholly different from that of a Frenchman, and we have, indeed, observed in other instances that German French has about it a solemnity, a simplicity, and a force of eloquence, in perfect accordance with the German character. We love the Germans, for the same reason that Ancillon loves the ancients, for the freshness, the simplicity, and the noble purity of their minds. In them we are never disgusted with attempts to catch at ephemeral applause, with impertinent *badinage*, or with materialism assuming exclusively the name of philosophy. To the following passage (the last we have space to quote) we cordially agree.

"The Liberals of a good sort in Germany love liberty as the first condition of intellectual life, and as the appendage of the liberty of man. In France the Liberals of a good sort love liberty as the principle and guarantee of all the advantages and plensures of social life. The fact is, that every thing in Germany has a secret tendency towards the invisible world. In France it is just the reverse."—p. 357.

In Germany the principle of the *finite*, the mechanical, calculating, materialist principle, does not, and is not likely to, predominate over men's minds. Can such an assertion be made of Great Britain, any more than France, with any degree of truth? We think not.

ART. XIII.—*Poetæ Scenici Græci. Accedunt perditarum fabularum fragmenta.* Recensuit Guil. Dindorfius. Leipsic & London. 1830. 8vo. pp. 960.

MR. WILLIAM DINDORF, the Professor in the University of Leipsic, whose name is too well known in this country to require any comment, has published, in one thick octavo volume, all the extant plays of Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes, together with the extant fragments of their lost tragedies and comedies respectively. The plays of the different poets are arranged in a chronological order, and we observe that Mr. Dindorf is one of those critics who believe the Rhesus to be genuine, and the most ancient of the remaining plays of Euripides; and that he does not agree with Mr. Hermann, in supposing that it was the work of some Alexandrine scholar. As Mr. Dindorf had already published text editions of Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, and as his brother, Mr. Lewis Dindorf, has edited Euripides, no very remarkable novelties in the recension of the text could be expected in this edition. The editor, however, with his accustomed diligence and acuteness, has in his preface suggested many improvements in the text of the four Greek dramatic poets, in addition to his former labours. We will select a few of these critical remarks.

In the *Prometheus* of Æschylus, v. 354, Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀντέστη θεοῖς, where Porson corrected Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, ὅστις ἀντέστη θεοῖς, supporting his emendation with numerous instances of the in-

trusion of πᾶς, Mr. Dindorf (after Wunderlich) reads—Τυφῶνα θοῦρον, πᾶσιν ὃς ἀνέστη θεοῖς, citing *Iliad*, Ψ. 634:

πὺξ μὲν ἐνίκησα Κλυτομήδεα, Ἥνοπος υἱὸν,
Ἄγκαιον δὲ πάλῃ Πλευρώνιον, ὅς μοι ἀνέστη.

In *Prom.* 1056, the Medicean MS. has τί γὰρ ἐλλείπει μὴ παραπαίειν εἰ τοῦδ' ἐντυχῇ. Mr. Dindorf restores, ἢ τοῦδε τύχῃ.

On *Sept. ad Theb.* 562, Mr. Dindorf attempts to show that the particle ἂν is sometimes lengthened by the Scenic poets. We confess that the small number, and the uncertainty of the instances which he adduces, are not, in our estimation, sufficient to weigh against the numberless examples of the contrary usage. It should be remembered, moreover, that the natural progress of all languages is to contract and shorten; and that some instances of this particle being lengthened would probably occur in Homer or the early epic poets, if its quantity had in later times been doubtful.

Soph. Electr. 882, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕβρει λέγω τάδ', ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον ὡς παρόντα νῷν. Mr. Dindorf, following the traces of the manuscripts, reads—ἐκεῖνον ὡς παρόντα νῶ, for νόει; and in like manner in *Æsch. Pers.* 1054, καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε κἀπιβόα τὸ Μύσιον, he would get rid of the anapest by reading κἀπιβᾶ. He likewise removes the anapest in *Soph. Œd. C.* 1466, by writing ὀρανία γὰρ ἀστραπή.

Eurip. Electr. 497, παλαιόν τε θησαύρισμα Διονύσου τόδε. Mr. Dindorf defends the shortening of the diphthong in παλαιὸς by two examples, one from Sophocles, the other from Aristophanes. It is very difficult to form any safe judgment on short fragments, but we are doubtful whether in the verse of Sophocles we ought not to read Φοίβου παλαιὸν κῆπον without the conjunction.

The fragments of Æschylus and Sophocles appear in this volume in a much more correct and complete form than in any former edition. Mr. Dindorf states that he had not originally intended to add the fragments of Euripides and Aristophanes, as they had been so recently published by Mr. Matthiæ* and himself; but that, in compliance with the wishes of his bookseller, he afterwards consented to introduce them. We rejoice that he was induced so to do, as the work is not only thereby rendered complete, but considerable improvements have been made upon Mr. Matthiæ's revision of the numerous and beautiful fragments of Euripides.

Æsch. fragm. 302. "*Eustathius*, p. 641, 59, Οὔτε δῆμος οὔτ' ἴσης ἀνήρ." The same words are cited by the scholiast to Homer, whose words are given by Mr. Dindorf in *Eurip. fragm. incert.* 158. Compare in the Elean inscription (Boeckh, *Corp. Inscript.* No. 14.) αἴτε Φέραι αἴτε τελέστα αἴτε δᾶμος.

Soph. fragm. 209:—

* γλῶσσ' ἐν οἷσιν ἀνδράσιν τιμὴν ἔχεις,
ὅπου λόγοι σθένουσι τῶν ἔργων πλέον.

"V. i. 'Η supplet Brunckius et ἔχει scribit. Fort. ὦ γλῶσσ'." *Dindorf.* Besides these suggestions there is the emendation of Jacobs, in his *Lec-*

* See Foreign Review, vol. v. p. 235.

tiones Stobenses—γλῶσσ' ἐν κενοῖσιν ἀνδράσιν τιμὴν ἔχει. But the article is necessary. Whether the emendation of Brunck or Mr. Dindorf is admitted, it seems that the sense requires ἐκεῖ for ὅπου.

In *Soph. fragm.* 464, the following line occurs:—

ἐνῆν δὲ συμμιγὴς ὁλαῖς παγκαρπία.

Perhaps: ἐνῆν δ' ὁλαῖσι συμμιγὴς παγκαρπία.

Soph. fragm. 584, from the *Tyro*:—

τίκτουσι γάρ τοι καὶ νόσους δυσθυμίαι.

In fragm. 588, Mr. Dindorf has, "*Antiatticista*, p. 89, 19, Δυσθυμία: Σοφοκλῆς Τυροῖ." The gloss of the grammarian probably refers to the above line preserved in Stobæus.

Eurip. Æol. fragm. 2:—

ἃ μὴ γάρ ἐστι τῷ πένηθ', ὁ πλούσιος
δίδωσ', ὃ δ' οἱ πλουτοῦντες οὐ κεκτήμεθα,
τοῖσιν πένησι χρώμενοι θηρώμεθα.

This elision of ι in the dative case is not noticed by Dr. Elmsley in his note to the *Heraclidæ*, v. 693; and it appears to offer more difficulty than any of the passages there corrected.

Cress. fragm. 9:—

πλούτου δ' ἀπορρυέντος ἀσθενεῖς γάμοι·
τὴν μὲν γὰρ εὐγένειαν αἰνοῦσιν βροτοί,
μᾶλλον δὲ κηδεύουσι τοῖς εὐδαίμοσιν.

The two last lines are thus cited in a fragment of the work of Aristotle περὶ εὐγενείας preserved in Stobæus, 86, 25, and Plutarch, περὶ εὐγενείας, c. xiv.—καίτοι... οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶσιν ὁ Θέογνις οὐδ' ὁ ποιητὴς ὁ ποιήσας

ὡς τὴν μὲν εὐγένειαν αἰνοῦσιν βροτοί,
μᾶλλον δὲ κηδεύουσι τοῖσι πλουσίοις.

In Stobæus the MS. A. and ed. Trinc. have ποιήσας ὡς ὅτι τὴν μὲν, whence Mr. Gaisford, transposing the words, has edited ποιήσας ὅτι, ὡς τὴν μὲν, &c. In Plutarch the word ὅτι is omitted. We think it more probable that one word arose from the other, and would read—

οὐδ' ὁ ποιητὴς ὁ ποιὴσας ὡς
τὴν μὲν εὐγένειαν, &c.

Peleus, fragm. 3:—

οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποισι τοιοῦτο σκύτος,
οὐ δῶμα γαίας κλειστὸν, ἔνθα τὴν φύσιν
ὁ δυσγενὴς κρύψας ἂν εἴη σοφός.

Mr. Dindorf does not mention the unfortunate conjectures of Mr. Gaisford and Mr. Matthiæ, κρύψας νομισθείη σοφός, and κρύψει' ἂν εἰ κεῖη σοφός. We propose, as a more probable conjecture than any yet advanced, κρύψας ἂν οὐκ εἴη κακός. See *Welcker ad Theognin.* p. 29. Few mistakes are more frequent in manuscripts (and even in printed books) than the improper addition or omission of the negative. In this case the negative had probably fallen out, and a later transcriber restored the sense by changing κακὸς into σοφὸς, but in so doing spoiled the metre.

Philoct. fragm. 12:—

πατρὶς καλῶς πράσσουσα τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἀεὶ
μείζω τίθησι, δυστυχοῦντα δ' ἀσθενῆ.

These senseless and unmetrical lines are preserved in *Stobæus* xxxviii. p. 230; where one MS. has δυστυχοῦσα for δυστυχοῦντα. Mr. Matthiæ conjectures τὸν τυχόντ' ἀεὶ for τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἀεὶ. Hence read:

πατρὶς καλῶς πράσσουσα τὸν τυχόντ' ἀεὶ
μείζω τίθησι, δυστυχοῦσα δ' ἀσθενῆ.

"*Every man, whoever he may be, is raised by the prosperity, and depressed by the sufferings of his country.*"

Eurip. Trag. incert. fragm. 55:—

μητέρα κατέκτα τὴν ἐμήν· βραχὺς λόγος·
ἐκὼν ἐκοῦσαν, ἢ θέλουσαν οὐκ ἐκών.

We would read βραχὺς ὁ λόγος. Compare *Archel. fragm.* 29:—

ἁπλοῦς ὁ μῦθος, μὴ λέγ' εὖ· τὸ γὰρ λέγειν
εὖ δεινόν ἐστιν, εἰ φέροι τινὰ βλάβην.

Ibid. fragm. 57:—χαλεποὶ πόλεμοι γὰρ ἀξελφῶν·
From Plutarch. The same verse is also cited by Aristotle, *Polit.* vii. p. 433, E.

The fragments of Aristophanes are repeated, in an abridged form, from the late excellent edition of Mr. Dindorf, which has left little for either the diligence or ingenuity of succeeding critics. Of the fragments of Æschylus an edition is expected from Mr. Hermann, which, if we may judge from the dissertations on some of the lost plays published in his *Opuscula*, will be of the highest merit. In the mean time, the volume before us contains the best collection of the fragments of Æschylus and Sophocles now in existence; and the fragments of Euripides, though not given with such copious detail as in the work of Matthiæ, appear in a much purer form than in that edition. The paper is good, and the type, though small, very distinct. On the whole, we consider this volume as a most useful and laudable publication, and for the purposes of reference and occasional consultation, very convenient to all admirers of the ancient Greek drama.

ART. XIV.—*Memoires d'une Femme de Qualité sur Louis XVIII., sa Cour, et son Regne.* 4 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1829.

THE mass of *soi-disant Memoires secrets et inedits*,* published in France within the last few years, has, in this country at least, actually glutted even to nausea the natural propensity of mankind for that agreeable and erst favourite style of composition, which combines, or combined, the easy pleasures of light reading with the dignity of historical study. For our own part, we have looked upon all these innumerable *pseudo*-biographies merely as so many historical novels, deprived, for the memoir-title's sake, of the story and the interest which fascinate our atten-

* The descriptive title sins rather by incompleteness than positive falsehood, since what was unwritten was certainly unpublished, and what was unknown, even to its supposed authors, may well be called secret.

tion, in the delightful productions we have latterly been accustomed to receive under the humbler name. As such, we have esteemed them undeserving our notice. The work now before us, however, (though in so far belonging to the same class that it is not written, we understand, by its presumed anonymous author,) distinguishes itself from its fellows in one very important point; as we are assured that the best-informed foreigners believe the *Femme de Qualité* in question to have really supplied the—what shall we say?—not facts; for the word would involve an assertion which we are by no means prepared to maintain; but the raw material, afterwards wrought into its present form by three or four gentlemen constituting a very respectable firm in the book-manufacturing line. Now since, in compositions of this description, the substance is assuredly of far more consequence than the workmanship, or the auctorial claims and abilities of any memoir-scribbler of either sex, we deem the volumes in question worthy of some attention, as showing the view which *Madame Olimpe*, Comtesse Du Cayla, (so her editors *initially* entitle her) took, or wishes to give, of her royal friend.

Respecting Madame Olimpe, Comtesse Du Cayla, herself, we hardly need remind the reader, that she was the reputed mistress of Louis XVIII. She herself, indeed, declares that the attachment was altogether Platonic, save as far as her ears were concerned,* and insinuates, with French delicacy, proofs of, or reasons for, its being so, which our English delicacy forbids us even to allude to more distinctly. The lady further declares herself to have passed unscathed through ordeals where no such reasons are alleged to have guarded her virtue, preserving her maiden purity through sundry nocturnal interviews with that fanatic and unfortunate Bonapartist, Charles Labedoyere, and her nuptial fidelity through various suspicious intimacies with the Duke of Rovigo and others, the gallant duke himself not appearing to entertain any very high respect for the propriety of the lady's conduct. In fact, she confesses to only one failure of her virtue, and that was in favour of a noble Venetian *Carbonaro*, her love for whom, nevertheless, if stronger than her virtue, was weaker than her loyalty, for she betrayed to the king the secrets she wrung from Morosini's passion, and was thus remotely the cause of his suicide, which she wept for a whole week. Let us not, however, be understood to blame the lady's reserve. We fully agree with Madame de Genlis, that a memoir writer is not bound to tell the whole truth, provided he or she tell nothing but the truth; and we think a woman of incorrect conduct would doubly offend against public morality by proclaiming her frailties. What we quarrel with is the unnecessary mention of supposed intrigues for the purpose of asserting their purity. We know nothing, and had no desire to hear any thing, of her girlish amours, and we think it would have been in better taste to have left the reader to form his own opinion of her connexion with the gouty old king, unless indeed she could have boldly pronounced his affection for her to have been wholly paternal.

* She for ever represents the king's words and anecdotes to be such as she cannot repeat.

This connexion, however, be its character what it might, manifestly afforded Madame Du Cayla such opportunities of knowing Louis the XVIIIth's opinions and feelings upon most subjects, as stamps her statements, her records of conversations, her court-gossip in short, with a considerable degree of authenticity, and makes the book worth running through. Moreover, although parts of it would certainly never have been written by any Englishwoman above the condition of the Harriette Wilsons, it contains nothing so objectionable in points of delicacy, as need exclude it from the drawing-room. We have, accordingly, no hesitation in recommending, even to our female readers, *Les Memoires d'une Femme de Qualité* as amusing and not uninstructive; and, expecting our recommendation to be acted upon, we shall in consequence abstain from offering either an abstract of their contents—which, indeed, is pretty nearly an impossibility—or many long extracts. We shall further take leave to decline the labour of refuting the absurd notions which the fair memorialist (as allowable a denomination, we think, as Mr. C. Butler's Reminiscent) ascribes to His Most Christian Majesty touching the perfidy and selfishness of British politics upon all and every occasion, and the excessive feudal oppression and total want of liberty we poor English groan under, and the correctness of General Pillet's accounts of English women and English manners.* Neither do we intend to trouble ourselves with such a work of supererogation as the vindication of the Duke of Wellington from the extraordinary faults detected in *Sa Grace* by the keen eyes of the king and his *belle amie*, such as coxcombry, vanity, silliness, theatrical trickery, cowardice, and what not. We shall content ourselves with mentioning a few of the leading traits of the king's character, as drawn by himself in his biographer's statements, and conclude with extracting a short conversation, illustrative of his opinion of the ultra-royalists, amongst whom ranked Madame Du Cayla herself; and, as she silently gives us to understand, the royal brother, nephews, and nieces.

Louis XVIII. appears, from this account, to have been rationally convinced of the actual impossibility of restoring the *ancien regime*, and of the absolute necessity of conforming, partially at least, to the spirit of the age; and therefore bent upon upholding his *Charte*, to which he was besides attached with the blind fondness of a parent and an author;† but being withal deeply imbued with the feelings, opinions, recollections, and habits of the days of absolutism, he enacted the constitutional king in a somewhat despotic vein, more diverting than is consonant with English ideas of limited monarchy. Jealous of his power,

* For the benefit of such readers as may know neither the disgusting work itself, nor the extracts given, at the time of its publication, by one of our brother periodicals, we will just mention, as a sample, that according to General Pillet, every Englishwoman who has attained to the matronly age of forty, gets more than tipsy every evening during the temporary after-dinner separation of the two sexes, and that every Englishman kills his wife with impunity when tired of her; most men thus disposing of three women a-piece, in punishment, we conceive, for their inebriety.

† Their preference of other constitutional forms to his *Charte* was, it should seem, in Louis's eyes, the original sin of the Spanish, Portugueze, Neapolitan, and Sardinian revolutionists; and we are not sure but we are of his majesty's opinion.

jealous of his ministers, and of their reputation, he yet appears to have been led by every favourite who, to use an expressive vulgarism, could get the length of his foot, (Decazes gained his favour, it seems, by receiving Latin lessons from his majesty,) and whom he forgot the moment he was teazed into dismissing them. His laudable ambition to be beloved by his subjects, his desire to be supposed indebted for both his restorations to their loyalty, led him naturally enough, but less laudably, to hate the allies who placed, and, while needful, supported him upon his throne, more especially George IV. and the Duke of Wellington, the last, as the commander of the army of occupation, the former, for making public a letter in which Louis had professed to owe his crown, under God, to the Prince Regent of England, which letter was meant solely for the private gratification of the British sovereign's own vanity, not of his people's. But the most original part of the picture is the king's literary vanity. Louis appears to have occupied himself in concocting articles for newspapers, to have claimed a sort of partnership concern in divers comedies and operas, to have written, corrected, polished, copied and recopied his parliamentary speeches, with a diligence worthy of Pope or Gray, and altogether without the participation of his *responsible* ministers, and to have bored every creature within his reach with these and all his other compositions, swallowing the grossest, baldest flattery, like mother's milk. The surest recipe for putting him into good humour was to request the gratification of hearing him read the *Voyage de Paris à Bruxelles.* But the most important point in Madame Du Cayla's representation is the manner in which the whole *clique* of ultra-royalists tormented the poor old king, if not to death, out of all the comforts of his life, in order to goad him, whom they treated as little better than a jacobin, into counter-revolutionary measures. Upon one occasion they exploded a barrel of gunpowder upon a back staircase, and accused the liberals of having designed thereby to blow up the Tuileries and its royal inmate. After public congratulations upon his escape, the *belle amie* presented herself, and was thus accosted :—

" Do you know that your friends, whom you call my faithful subjects, give me proofs of their attachment that are any thing but agreeable to me?

" How so, sire?

" Did you not hear the explosion?

" Can you suspect the royalists, whilst the jacobins—

" For this once are very innocent. It is a machination of your right-thinking men; a little plot to frighten me.

" Impossible!

" For the sake of your friends' honour, would to God I may be mistaken! But ere long we shall have an irrefragable proof of their guilt.

" What proof, sire?

" That nothing will be found out concerning this plot.

" Truly an extraordinary proof!

" My dear Countess, (returned the king,) if the Jacobins, the Bonapartists, or the Liberals, are the authors of this explosion, before two days are over our heads, we shall have thirty people arrested, and a regular prosecution set on foot by M. Jacquinot and his underlings: if, on the contrary, all this is, as I I suspect, a pretty little trick of my good friends, no one will be arrested;

neither M. Jacquinot, nor his underlings, will institute any legal proceedings. If I seem angry, the Keeper of the Seals and the Minister of Police will come with downcast looks and implore me not to follow up inquiries which may disturb the public tranquillity, rekindle animosities, bring hostile parties face to face, and expose honourable names to unjust imputations. I shall be obliged to give way, the conspirators will continue to call themselves my best friends, and I—I shall not even be at liberty to tell them that I would gladly dispense with their friendship!"

Need we add, that Louis's anticipations were, upon this occasion, fully verified. We must not conclude without mentioning, that in literature Louis XVIII. was a rigorous *classiciste*, and that he would not have objected to M. de Chateaubriand as a politician or a minister, had he not reprobated and envied him as an author.

Art. XV.— 1. *Le Gueux de Mer.* 2 vols. 12mo. Paris. 1830.
2. *Le Gueux des Bois, ou les Patriotes Belges de* 1556; *suivi de la Bataille de Navarin.* 4 vols. 12mo. Paris. 1830.
3. *Phillippine de Flandre, ou les Prisonniers du Louvre. Roman Historique Belge.* Par M. H. G. Moke. 4 vols. 12mo. Paris. 1830.

The innumerable works of fiction, good, bad, and indifferent, hourly littered by the Parisian press, is not the portion of our brilliant neighbours' literature to which we usually direct the attention of the British public; those only can pretend to be mentioned in our pages, that are peculiarly distinguished by genius, character, or circumstances. Upon a late occasion we reviewed at some length the productions of one of the most popular French novelists* of the present day, for the double purpose of making his style and talent known to our readers, and of guarding such of them as do not wish to sully their minds with gross images, against being tempted by his indigenous celebrity, to open any of his multifarious volumes. Our present object is the very reverse, and may be more shortly attained, being to recommend to general perusal the writings of M. H. G. Moke, whom we must however confess to be an author much inferior in brilliancy to Paul de Koch.

Moke's principal merit, in our eyes, is the having opened what we may call a new field of romance, since the very few splendid scenes that Sir Walter Scott has sketched of Netherland transactions, can scarcely be deemed sufficient to render the term incorrect.† Moke has painted, and we really think to the life, the free, bold, wealthy, virtuous, and turbulent burghers and yeomen of the Low Countries, in their struggles for their civil and religious rights: and we should, at any time that we had happened to meet with them, have recommended his *Romans Belges* for the mere novelty and vivacity of their Flemish pictures. But we are more especially impelled to do so now, when the revolutions, bursting out around us on every side, give additional and important interest to these clever delineations of popular commotions; of

* Paul de Koch, No. 10.

† Whilst we are writing, the publication of Mr. Grattan's Heiress of Bruges seems to tax us with incorrectness; M. Moke, however, was first in the Belgian field.

the humane and patriotic forbearance with which William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, and his confederates, sought redress by every legal and pacific means ere they would be provoked to insurrection; of the horrors and atrocities nearly inseparable from civil war; and of the almost inevitable involvement, upon such occasions, of the best, of the most determined to refrain from violence, in bloodshed, if not in guilt. The happy choice of his subject-matter is not, however, M. Moke's sole merit. He has managed it reasonably well, and he has drawn many of his characters with vivid energy. We could, indeed, have wished that in his *Gueux des Bois* he had coloured less heavily the vices of the Spanish governors, commissioned by Philip the Second to establish the inquisition; but we acknowledge with pleasure that the little he has given us of the Prince of Orange and his party is good and striking. In the same work the bold and benevolent Capuchin is well opposed, not only to the intolerant and persecuting Roman Catholic priests, but to the equally worthy and conscientious Protestant zealot, himself further contrasted with the *pseudo*-fanatical demagogue, after whom the novel is named, who, by the criminal excesses to which he instigates his followers, gives a show of justice to the most flagitious proceedings of the inquisition. In *Philippine de Flandre*, the rude and half brutal soldier of fortune, the loftily chivalrous noble, are as happily painted amongst the French characters, as are the Bear of the Butchers, and the Deacon* of the Drapers amongst the Flemings. Expecting that these novels will be generally read, we shall say nothing of the story of any of them, (the *Gueux de Mer* we as yet know only by name,) but shall try to select a short, detached scene from the last, *Philippine de Flandre*, such as may give an idea of our author's graphic and dramatic powers, observing however that it would require a longer and more continuous extract to do him justice.

Count William of Juliers, a warlike ecclesiastic, is escorting a damsel, wrapped in a peasant's cloak, into Bruges, which city is in a state of insurrection against Philip the Fair, King of France.

"Scarcely had he entered the city, when a barricade stopped him. 'What means this?' exclaimed Count William, 'do the people leave their ramparts unguarded and entrench themselves in the street?'

"'It is the smiths, who fortify their quarter,' said a peasant, with a flail in his hand, and a quiver on his shoulder; 'and by the blood of our Lord, well they may, having hostile trades to right and left! But you will find the street to your right clear, Sir Knight.'

"The young Count followed his advice, and reached the market place without impediment. Here bands of drapers and boatmen were in garrison * * * In front of their respective stations they had erected posts, to which they had affixed barrels filled with combustibles; and the flames that rose eddying from those immense brasiers lighted the whole place. By this sinister light were seen small parties of armed men hurrying to and fro, and ranging themselves under the banners of their several guilds. The lugubrious sound of the bells, the shouts occasionally uttered by the furious multitude, the distant aspect of

* We translate the French *Doyen*, by the Scotch name of the elder of a guild or corporation, for want of an English word.

the close columns forming in the adjacent streets, all announced an approaching and inevitable commotion.

"There was something so frightful in the whole picture that William of Juliers felt his hair bristle on his head. 'Let us retrace our steps,' said he to his companion, 'It fits not you should brave such dangers. Perish rather the name of Flanders and the lion of our ancestors!'

"The young maiden cast upon him a severe look. 'Already have I sacrificed more than life,' she replied in melancholy accents, 'and nothing shall now make me turn back. And wherefore should I? Better die here than in exile.' * * * * * * *

"A troop of pikemen, whom their blue frocks showed to be weavers, surrounded a mean-looking house. At sight of the horseman they lowered their pikes, opposing an iron rampart to his progress, whilst different voices clamoured.

"Who are you?—What do you want?—Nobody may approach Master Peter's house. Priest or devil, you pass not!

"'Where is the deacon?' asked he, impatiently.

"'If we did but know!' they returned, brandishing their long pikes.

"'But his sons?' resumed William of Juliers.

"'At the old castle,' replied the Flemings.

"'Well then, I must speak with his wife.'

"'Yes, Yes!—No, no!—Call the deaconess!—Cross your pikes!—Let him pass!—Drive him back!'—shouted a thousand voices.

"The house door now unclosed, and a woman appeared, whose still handsome and proud face bore the traces of deep affliction. She glanced at the equestrians, and apparently recognizing them, exclaimed; 'Open your ranks! It is the hope, the last hope, of Flanders!'"

The deaconess now introduces the strangers into her best apartment, and displays the warmest loyalty towards the lady, the daughter of the unfortunate Count of Flanders, who, deserted by his rebellious subjects, had been perfidiously invited by King Philip to the French court, and upon his appearing there, treacherously seized and imprisoned. The deaconess eagerly divests Philippine of her rustic disguise, and the latter anxiously inquires for the Deacon de Koning, who, in expiation of his rebellion, has devoted himself to her father's cause, and upon whose aid she relies, for gaining over the good city of Bruges, already in open revolt against French oppression.

"They were interrupted by a masculine voice that called out from the lower story, 'Be of good cheer, Deaconess. Master Peter is in the Count's palace, and we are going to fetch him out.'

"'What mean those words?' asked the young Countess, starting up. 'Has the fatality that pursues our family reached to de Koning?'

"The deaconess in tears led her to an open window, and showing her a crowd of pikemen jostling each other, she said, 'Those are the weavers returning to town; the trades, inimical to ours, had taken advantage of their absence to throw the deacon into prison. Now they will pay dearly for it. Do you see how the arms glitter on the *Place du Bourg?* They are lighting the torches; they are unfolding the banners. The hour of vengeance is come!'

"From the window William and Philippine saw part of the great market place, and of the neighbouring strongly fortified castle. The night was dark, the sky clouded; but the blazing casks and torches cast a ruddy and flickering light over the discoverable space. The stately edifices of the old castle and the market place presented a vague and imperfect outline, appearing to tremble as

the wind agitated the eddying fire and smoke, or to move with the motion of the torches.

"The weavers were mustering at the old castle. They were compressed between a church of antique and gigantic architecture, and ramparts, recently half destroyed by fire. They set forward, and such were their numbers that they seemed rather turning upon themselves than proceeding, when the head of their column appeared entering the market place by a dark and narrow street. Presently they stopped, without any perceptible cause. Loud cries arose. * *

"Philippine clasped her hands, and for a moment seemed engaged in prayer; then raising her beautiful head, she murmured, 'I will stay them.'

"She sprang upon her horse with the grace and lightness of a daughter of air. Her white robe floated in large folds over her courser's back; her tresses fell in curls upon her shoulders. Pale, but not timid, she urged her steed amidst the throng, forbidding all attendance.

* * * * * *

"When Philippine reached the spot, the column was again in motion. The weavers had driven back a body of enemies who had opposed their progress, and the conflict was raging round the palace of the Counts of Flanders. She saw the butchers and fishmongers, who guarded the palace, hurling large stones at their assailants. She heard battle cries and groans of pain. But it was impossible to make way through the infuriate mass of the draper's faction, and for a moment the young Countess forgot her purpose, whilst gazing on the spectacle that now fixed her attention. A party of carpenters, smiths, and tilers, had undertaken to penetrate into the palace, by throwing a sort of bridge across from the roof of a neighbouring house to one of the turrets. Thrice they succeeded in placing beams across, upon which the boldest immediately sprung; but every time their enemies overthrew their bridge, and with it were seen to fall those who had trusted to its support. But the assailants were not discouraged. A fourth attempt was made. A longer beam was more securely placed, and a throng of brave spirits rushed on to the tottering bridge. Again some fell, but many reached the turret; and immediately large planks afforded a passage to their comrades. A shout of triumph resounded through the adjacent streets. The body of the column pressed on. The palace of the Counts was won!

"Philippine could now urge her horse forward, and she arrived in the palace court just as de Koning, released from his dungeon, was lifted up in triumph on a shield.

"Insignificant in person, old, and blind of one eye, there was nothing in the appearance of the deacon of the drapers that could awe, flatter, or dazzle. He was a low-born man, with ordinary features, an ignoble carriage, a hard and sharp eye; but the indomitable resolution stamped on his bald and bony forehead recalled to the imagination those antique bronze statues. unchanged by time or tempest. His fetters had been broken, but some links still hung upon his arms, which, with looks of the fiercest resentment, he was displaying to his avengers. Those who bore him in triumph, almost all wounded and covered with blood, presented such contrasts as only popular commotions can offer. Here was a plaisterer white with lime, there a smith with blackened hands and face; weavers, dyers, fullers, all differently dressed and armed, but all alike robust, bold, and eager. Some prisoners of the hostile trades, who had been brought to the deacon's feet, seemed condemned to certain death. Most of them were on their knees ejaculating their dying prayers; but a few, more intent on braving their enemies than on the salvation of their own souls, stood upright, with threatening looks and insulting words, defying the revenge of their conquerors.

"'What shall we do with them, de Koning?' inquired some of the leaders.

"'To death with them! To death with them!' shouted the impatient crowd.

"And the deacon, his heart still ulcerated, seemed to smile at the idea of their execution. He bowed his head in token of assent; his lips moved to pronounce the fatal word. But a voice, to which every nerve in his frame vibrated, murmured, 'de Koning!' He shuddered, raised his eyes, and met the severe gaze of the young Countess.

"The cheeks of the proud draper were crimsoned with shame. 'Of what mud is man's soul formed,' exclaimed he bitterly, 'that for petty quarrels I should every minute betray the cause to which I have dedicated my existence!' And springing down from the buckler, he resumed in a loud voice.

"'No more honours, no more authority for me! Behold her whom we must all obey!'

"All eyes were already fixed upon Philippine, who appeared amidst the ferocious multitude as a being of a higher nature. At first, the superstitious notions of the populace mingling with the illusive charm spread over that pure, white, and aerial form, they shrank from her in mute alarm. But when the name of Philippine of Flanders had been pronounced, all pressed around her whose misfortunes had excited so much interest and compassion. The offences imputed to her father were forgotten, together with the municipal enmities of the different trades, and innumerable voices enthusiastically raised the battle cry of her house, *Flanderen den Leeuw*—The Lion of Flanders!"

Having thus awarded to M. Moke his due meed of praise, and given a fair specimen of his talents, we shall further prove our opinion of his merit, by pointing out some of the faults which we should wish him to avoid whilst pursuing the career so happily begun, uninterrupted, as we trust it may in future be, by such *hors d'œuvre* as his Battle of Navarino. His characters are exaggerated, and that sometimes to a degree of coarseness; and he unscrupulously deviates from the species of historical truth, which we expect in a historical novel, *i. e.* truth of characters and manners. In fact we think *that* the best style of historical novel, in which the historical personages are well interwoven with the story, the hero and heroine being fictitious, as in Ivanhoe, and indeed as in M. Moke's own *Gueux des Bois*. This is our taste. Nevertheless we would not quarrel with our author for rescuing Philippa, or as he pleases to call her, Philippine of Flanders, the affianced bride of Edward II. of England, from the premature death to which the remorseless Philip the Fair is said to have doomed her in his own palace as the surest way of preventing her marriage; nor yet for sinking this resuscitated princess into the *inamorata* of a French knight. But why, to take our example from the same novel, has he loaded with obloquy the memory of a queen, Jeanne de Navarre, of whom the last and ablest French historian, after ransacking, as in duty bound, all sources of information, expressly says, "History has preserved nothing respecting her that can enable us to judge of her character or of her influence with her husband;"—?* And yet more, why has he done this, falsifying the date of her death to effect it, for the sake of diminishing the odium that rests upon her husband, Philip the Fair, one of the most contemptibly detestable of modern tyrants; the ruffianly virtual

* Sismondi, *Histoire des Français*, vol. ix. p. 170.

assassin of an aged pontiff, whose chief faults sprang from partiality to that very Philip; the legal plunderer and murderer of the whole order of Knights Templars; in a word, for we have no leisure to enumerate his crimes, the cowardly robber, who effected by gross frauds, by the tricks of a pettyfogging attorney, those spoliations of his neighbours and vassals, which he had neither courage nor skill to achieve as a conqueror? Further, descending to minutiæ, and still confining our remarks to his last production, why has M. Moke given the Heiress of Navarre a brother, (who must have unheiressed her,) in her cousin, Robert of Artois? Or why has he made the name of the deacon of the weavers unplebeian by the addition of the French preposition, *de?*

Art. XVI.—1. *Verhandelingen over de Vraag: Welke Verdiensten hebben zich de Nederlanders vooral in de* 14*e*, 15*e*, *en* 16*e eeuw in het vak der Toonkunst verworven; en in hoe verre kunnen de Nederlandsche Kunstenaars van dien tijd, die zich naar Italien begeven hebben, invloed gehad hebben op de muzijkscholen, die zich kort daarna in Italien hebben gevormd: Door R. G. Kiesewetter en F. J. Fétis.* [Discussion of the question: What services have the Netherlanders, especially in the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries, rendered to the art of music, and how far could the Netherlandish artists of that period, who went into Italy, have influenced the schools of music, which shortly afterwards arose there? By R. G. Kiesewetter and F. J. Fétis.] 4to. Brussels, 1830.

2. *Curiosités Historiques de la Musique, complément nécessaire de la Musique mise à la portée de tout le monde.* Par M. Fétis, Directeur de la Revue Musicale. 8vo. Paris, 1830.

In 1824, the foregoing question, was proposed by the fourth Class of the Royal Institute of Literature and the Fine Arts of the Netherlands, as the subject of a prize essay. It produced, among other answers, one in German, by M. Kiesewetter, of Vienna, and one in French, by M. Fétis, of Paris, which that learned body justly esteemed worthy of the gold and silver medal. Both candidates hold, we believe, appointments in royal or national libraries, and they therefore came to their task with those advantages of access to ancient MSS. which were indispensable to its successful execution. The result of this investigation, which has been upon both hands sufficiently diligent, is highly honourable to the genius of Flanders, and proves satisfactorily that the composers of that nation, if not the discoverers of counterpoint, were the first who turned its resources to their legitimate ends—expression and refinement. With the honour of producing the first practical application of the principle of florid counterpoint, they may be well content; and a view of contemporary compositions of various nations during the era of their most celebrated masters, renders their title to it unquestionable. To us, the examples and illustrations which have been industriously collected by M. Kiesewetter furnish the most va-

luable part of the volume. They prove that from the time of Ockeghem and Josquin des Pres (whose country, by-the-bye, is not satisfactorily determined,) to Orlando di Lasso, the Flemings were supreme in the musical art; and the Italians, whom we are accustomed to look upon as the regenerators of music in Europe, have with native frankness and candour been the first to acknowledge their obligations. The school of Italy was, in fact, much the younger one, commencing only with Palestrina, in the latter half of the 16th century, during the career of Orlandus Lassus, one of the last of the eminent musicians of Flanders. Such was the reputation of the latter school from the time of Ockeghem, to that of Lassus, that its masters or their pupils stocked all the foreign courts, and certainly with the happiest influence upon the taste for composition. Josquin appears to have been a prodigious man; his writings are the earliest extant, in which are found an instinct of the poetical, as regards conception and design; and he is remarkable, too, for expression at a time when his contemporaries were too much occupied with rules, and calculations, to believe imagination, or feeling, necessary to music. He was the admiration, of the Italians, for the constant variety of plan in his compositions; every one of which seemed to extend the domain of art. Nothing need be said beyond this in proof of his great genius. Roland Lassus, better known by his Italian cognomination, Orlando di Lasso, flourished about a hundred years later than Josquin, under the happiest circumstances that could befall a musician; and a life of ease and competence enabled him to leave a name as imperishable as the art itself. Many of his compositions are sought with delight at the present day, from the grace and elegance of their style. Palestrina, the founder of the Roman school, the first great name in the church music of Italy, and the contemporary and rival of Orlando di Lasso, was the disciple of Claudius Goudimel, a Fleming. M. Kiesewetter divides the history of Flemish art into three epochs—the age of Josquin, from 1450 to 1500; that of Hadrian Willaert from 1500 to 1540, and that of Orlando di Lasso from 1540 to 1590: from this period the genius of the Flemish masters declined. It is convincingly clear, that, for a century and a half, the composers of the Netherlands took precedence of those of civilized Europe, and that their contemporaries, generally, could not pretend to equal their skill in the higher order of counterpoint.

We wish M. Kiesewetter had been satisfied with showing this, without attempting to prove that music was in a manner *born* in Flanders. In our opinion, he would not have deserved the gold medal the more, for labouring to show, that Melpomene came down from Heaven, *via* Holland, and landed in Flanders from a *treckschuyt*. Truth is the grand object in historical inquiry,—not the flattery of national vanity. Who the first discoverer of counterpoint, or rather of the combination of musical tones, was, cannot be known, nor is it important. Tinctoris, one of the earliest and most reputable authorities upon music, ascribes the origin of this art to England; but M. Kiesewetter, who will hear of no partition of honours with that classical territory, the history of

whose performances he is examining, quotes the authority of Dr. Burney in opposition. It is a matter of the most perfect indifference, since counterpoint has been discovered and brought to perfection, what country has the majority of conjectures in its favour. The love of displaying knowledge, particularly where nothing can be known, is a foible in historians, which has provoked the good-humoured laugh of satirists from the time of Cervantes to the present. To our mind, the reeds and rural pipes of Ovid and Lucretius are worth a hundred pages of dry disquisition upon the origin of music. The essay of M. Fétis does not manifest any important variation from that of his fellow-labourer. He ascribes, however, to the Flemish, the honour of forming the organ school, for which Germany has become celebrated.

The volume entitled *Curiosités Historiques de la Musique* is a piece of genuine book-making. It has no more connection with *La Musique mise à la portée de tout le Monde* than if it were an essay on the steam engine. One volume having sold off quickly, M. Fétis thought it expedient to try his fortune with another. He has accordingly reprinted several essays from the *Revue Musicale*, his letters on the state of music in England (not omitting the falsehoods contained therein), and joined to these certain extracts from a general biographical dictionary of musicians, which he is about to publish. This the *complément necessaire* to *La Musique mise à la portée de tout le Monde!* The author means that the profits are a *complément necessaire* to his pocket.

ART. XVII.—John Pettersson's *fullständig Hebreisk Grammatika efter egna forskningar och ny åsigt af ordens grundformer.* (John Peterson's Complete Hebrew Grammar, &c.) Lund. 1829. 8vo.

GRAMMATICAL treatises are showered down upon the world as thick as hail-stones. Every man who sets up for a teacher seems to think he must establish his title by the publication of a School-book or a Grammar. This is particularly the case in Germany, where it is difficult to say whether the class of writers or of readers is the most numerous. Amidst the shoals of books upon languages, there are few worth rescuing from obscurity; they are generally dull repetitions of one another—amidst a century of which, not one ray of novelty throws out even a momentary brightness. We could mention a man who has written four Grammars of the same language, all unlike one another, yet each of course pretending to be *the* desideratum. Nay, in an Italian Grammar just published, the illustrious and candid author confesses that if he had understood the subject as well when he began his work as he did when he had completed it, he should have made a much better book. As soon as he had ended his task, his notions changed, both of the fundamental character and the component parts and affinities of the language; and he should therefore have felt it his duty, had he been thoroughly acquainted with the topic, to give his production *eine ganz-andere Gestalt*—quite another shape. It would seem that the literary rule was not to write because you understand—not to write because you have knowledge; but

to write because you do not understand—to write because you have not knowledge.

The oriental languages, requiring more attention for their competent understanding, have been tolerably safe from the intrusions of ignorant and presumptuous men; they are in their very form and appearance repulsive to vain and shallow scribblers; and the book before us is an admirable specimen of what elaborate study and thorough acquaintance with the subject can produce. It is the fruit of long labour, and of an exhaustive examination of the whole field of which it treats. No portion of it is written without due care; there is no haste, no presumption any where; its different parts are all complete in themselves and harmonious in their union. It is the work of a teacher in the University of Lund, in Sweden. His system of derivations is, we believe, original: he defends it with great erudition and ingenuity; and it is much to be regretted that the small extent over which the Swedish language is spread, must give to his theories a share of attention very far less than that to which they are entitled. We wish this Grammar were published in Latin, so as to give orientalists in general an opportunity of estimating it; and in this case we would respectfully suggest to the author, that his arrangement of the different parts of speech might be improved, and that he would do well to take the derivate forms of the verb in the order employed by Arabic grammarians, (viz. *gatal, gittel, gótel, higtîl, hithgattel, hithg'otel, nigtal*); and these forms should also be distinguished from the variations of *gal* (gatal, gatel), which in fact, in Hebrew as well as in Arabic, alone deserve the title of conjugations. The conjugations should be distinctly and fully explained before any the slightest reference is made to their derivatives. It was, perhaps, the high authority of Gesenius, Ewald, and other German orientalists, that led our author to introduce pronouns before nouns—a precedence wholly unsanctioned by true philosophy; for the distinctions of sex went long before their abbreviated representation in the pronominal form. The difference between *hû* and *hî* (he and she) would neither have been invented nor understood until man and woman, father and mother, brother and sister, son and daughter, and the thousand other gender-distinguishing words, had obtained currency. The substitute should on every account follow the principal. And it is curious to observe, by a reference to the venerable authority of the Bible, what was the progress of language, and how the noun substantive was made the ground-work of the whole. "And the Lord God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that is the name thereof." (*Gen.* ii. 19, 20.) Here, before even the creation of Eve—here we find the elements of the infant language of the world: verbs followed nouns; and afterwards came those conventional abbreviations which give so much flexibility and variety to language, and those modifications which represent the different shades of thought.

We think the author's verbal system susceptible of much simplification. He has adopted eight conjugations, which in truth might be reduced to one, with seven derivative forms; nay, he has gone further,

and introduced active, passive and reciprocal, which it will be obvious to the Arabic scholar, are only new derivatives. He employs two constructive forms, which are truly only two separate classes of verbs, and by thus encumbering his pages with needless refinements and distinctions, destroys the lucidity of his general views. For example, he thus gives the first conjugation in the present tense.

active	*intransitive*		*passive*	*reciprocal*
—			—	—
gatal	gatel	gatol	(gatúl)	nigtal

We do not think this a happy arrangement—we doubt even its correctness.

We regret that we cannot praise our author's orthography. Taking the Swedish alphabet as his instrument of pronunciation, we think his pupils must be led astray. He gives, for example, to the letter *zajin* the character of *ds*. It is simply and purely the French and English *z*. He writes *waw, vav,* and describes the sound to be *v*. It is in reality *w*. And this misconception is curiously illustrated by a note, page 9, where he says the aspirate *b* has not, as is commonly supposed, the sound of *v*, *because* it is but rarely interchanged with *waw;* which is just as if he said *v* is not *v* in English, because it is rarely replaced by *w*. He represents *Qof* by *k* instead of *q*, which is in fact the identical letter. These misconceptions will be understood when we observe that the sounds of *z*, *w* and *q* are unknown to the Swedes, unless as represented by *s*, *v* and *k*.

In the vowels too, we think he is mistaken in representing the long *Khólem* by *å*, which has the sound of *oa* in our word *broad;* while the true sound is that of *oa* in the word *load,* and might, according to the system of Sir William Jones, have been very appropriately written *ó*. The writing of Jód and Qóf *Jåd* and *Kåf* cannot be maintained, for the Greek ωρα and the Latin *qu* evidently predicate the long and close *ó* in the original Phœnician names. The letter *å* might, however, be used as a fit representative for those cases where, as in Swedish, the fulcrum for the Khólem (o) is an Aleph (a), as, for instance, *lå* (not), where the Arabic sound also closely approaches to the *a*, as in *lá* (not).

These remarks have been elicited by our high estimate of this Grammar, and our desire to contribute a hint or two towards its perfection. It is rather too elaborate for beginners, as it extends to 500 pages.

Art. XVIII.—*Die Römische Kampagne: in topographischer und antiquarischer Hinsicht, dargestellt von* J. H. Westphal; *nebst einer Karte der römischen Kampagne, und einer Wegekarte des alten Lazium.* (The Campagna di Roma; exhibited in Topographical and Antiquarian Delineations, by J. H. Westphal; with Maps of the Campagna and Ancient Latium.) 4to. With Maps in Folio. Berlin. 1829.

Though a great variety of works are constantly appearing on Italy in general, and on Rome especially, still an accurate description of the "Roman Campagna" in its greatest extent—the classic soil of the origin of Roman greatness—was much wanted. Most travellers visit

but few spots outside the gates of Rome; more remote points are less frequented, partly on account of their distance from the high road, partly because they are, without any reason decried for being unsafe. It was therefore of no small importance to find a properly-qualified traveller to examine carefully the whole country from Civita-vecchia to Terracina, from Narni to Sora, in order to give an accurate account of the present condition of the country, with an exact description of the antiquities, and to fix the points, where it may be desirable to make further researches. In the work now before us this difficult task is not only satisfactorily performed, but it contains moreover an entirely new investigation of the old Roman causeways or military roads, the old itineraries and *Tabula Peutingeriana* are frequently revised and corrected, and the positions of a great number of ancient towns and military stations is now fixed with the utmost precision. By the exactness of his measurements the author was enabled to delineate two maps, grounded upon entirely new data. Proceeding from the different gates of Rome, as points of departure, the text of the work is divided into eleven sections, each of which comprises one particular branch of roads, together with the adjacent relics of antiquity. The first map, inscribed "Contorni di Roma Moderna," not only gives a distinct image of the present shape of the soil, but indicates also all those spots where ancient remains are still to be seen. Every place, down to the smallest "casale," is marked, and the roads leading to them pointed out, so that this map will be even more useful to the stranger than the best-road book. The other map, bearing the title "Agri Romani Tabula," specially recommends itself by the delineation of the old Roman high-roads. A small plan of Rome, with its Seven Hills, its gates, and bridges, affords a distinct view of that ancient classical soil. The index of the ancient and modern names annexed is a most useful addition to a work which, for completeness and accuracy, surpasses any previous work on the subject.

Note to the Article on Codification in No. XII.

We have heard, with much regret, that Mr. Cooper, the learned and enlightened author of the *Lettres sur la Cour de la Chancellerie*, reviewed by us in a former Number, has conceived that the omission of any reference to his work in the article *on Codification*, in our last Number, was intentional. Nothing could be further from our intention, than to be guilty even of the appearance of a slight towards so distinguished a writer. We were as well aware that Meyer's work had been occasioned by Mr. Cooper's Letters, as that Savigny's tract had been occasioned by that of Thibaut. Neither of these facts was stated formally to our readers, as we did not profess to give a literary *history* of the controversies respecting codification. The chief object of our article was to examine the arguments of Mr. Bentham, as a representative of those, who, by codification, understand a total repeal of the existing law, and a substitution of new law in its place. In exposing (what appeared to us) the errors and inconsistencies of that doctrine, and the inconclusiveness of those arguments which oppose codification as necessarily implying an enactment of new law, we took occasion to refer incidentally to some passages in the works of Savigny and Meyer, and some other publications; but we neither professed to exhaust the subject, and to weigh all the arguments of different writers on each side of the question, nor even to enumerate the principal English authors on the subject. Had such been our intention, we should not have despaired of being able to show that the grounds on which we rested our argument are not to be overthrown even by the temperate and erudite discussion of Mr. Cooper.

*** We willingly give insertion to the following correction of a mistatement relative to the late Mr. Marryat, in our last Number, the origin of which we cannot at this moment exactly trace.

To the Editor of the Foreign Quarterly Review.

Sir,

In the article in the last Number of your Review, entitled "The French Prohibitive System," I see with surprise, at page 403, the following paragraph:

"Amongst other acts of conciliation, the late Mr. Marryat persuaded us to deprive them (the French captured colonies) of the power of selling in our markets the few hogsheads of sugar which they produced; and they ceased to grow it."

So far from this being the case, my father was, I believe, the only member connected with the West Indies, who opposed the Bill brought forward in 1809, by his Majesty's ministers, for the purpose of excluding the produce of the island of Martinique from the home consumption of Great Britain, for which he received a vote of thanks from the inhabitants of that colony.

Referring you to the reports of the debate on that question, for the confirmation of what I state,

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

Charles Marryat.

12, Clarence Terrace, Regent's Park,
13*th December*, 1830.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

No. XIII.

FRANCE.

Necrology.—Count Louis Philip de Segur died on the 27th of August last, in the 77th year of his age. He was one of the most elegant and popular writers of the present day, as his works, which are very voluminous, bear evidence. One of the latest of these, the *Memoirs of his Life*, in 3 vols. 8vo., which only come down to the period of the French Revolution, have been extremely well received both in France and England, and it is to be hoped that the sequel of them is yet destined to see the light. M. de Segur served in the American war of independence, under Lafayette, was afterwards sent ambassador to Russia, and subsequently to Prussia, at the beginning of the revolution, by which event his fortune was entirely ruined. During the first years of the revolution he contrived to escape the guillotine, although he was proscribed, and retired into complete seclusion, from which he was drawn by Bonaparte, when he assumed the helm of affairs. He enjoyed the favour and confidence of the Emperor to the last. After the restoration he again went into retirement, but in 1818 was called to the Chamber of Peers by M. De Cazes. He has left a son, General Philip de Segur, the heir of his talents and his liberal opinions, and whose literary merits have already obtained him a seat in the French Academy.

The French Society for Universal Statistics, whose formation we noticed in our last, has commenced a monthly journal of its labours. It is divided into two portions, the first, or *Bulletin*, giving an account of the meetings, reports and decrees of the Society and its council, and miscellaneous articles; the second portion consisting of documents, tables and statistical statements, and memorials, &c., of which the publication has been directed by the Society and its council.

The first number contains the following documents:—1. A comparative statement of the gross revenues of France, with the expenses of their collection. 2. A view of the progress of the gross revenue from 1816 to 1829. 3. Four statements relative to the vine-cultivation. 4. The number and classification of the 5 per cent. rentes.

Besides the 600 French members of whom the Society consists, as we mentioned in our last, it includes nearly 200 foreign members selected from the best informed of all nations, exclusive of Austria and including Egypt. Several princes and sovereigns have not thought it beneath them to associate with private individuals for the purpose of disseminating a species of knowledge on which the art of government is in a great degree founded.*

A volume has recently appeared at Paris, containing some hitherto unpublished documents relative to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which throw considerable light on the leading points in the controversy which was revived about four years since between Dr. Lingard and the Edinburgh Reviewers. The theory of Dr. Lingard, it will be recollected, was founded on the story told by the Duke of Anjou (afterwards Henry III. of France), when he was in Poland, of the circumstances of the massacre. According to this the St. Bartholo-

* Among our own countrymen, we understand, the distinguished name of Mr. Malthus appears as a foreign member.

mew arose out of an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Admiral Coligny, undertaken by direction of the Queen-mother and her son the Duke of Anjou, without the concurrence or knowledge of the King; on the failure of which the Queen and her Catholic councillors, partly by insinuation and partly by threats, obtained an order from the King to put the admiral and his principal adherents to death. By this tale the odium of a preconcerted plot, concealed for many months, and disguised with infinite art and dissimulation, is avoided; and the guilt of the original authors of the massacre is reduced to the intended commission of a single murder, which by accident was extended to a greater number, and by the fury of an exasperated and fanatical populace was converted into a general massacre of all the Hugonots in Paris. The publication we allude to, entitled "Monumens Inedits de l'Histoire de France: 1. Correspondance de Charles IX. et de Mandelot, Gouverneur de Lyon, pendant l'année 1572.; 2. Lettre des Seize au Roi d'Espagne Philippe II." shows the entire fallacy of this theory. The letters of Charles IX. and of Catherine de Medicis, here published, with the answer of Mandelot, prove that on the 13th of August, several days prior to the attempt to assassinate the admiral, and eleven days before the massacre, Catherine and her son had ordered the Governor of Lyons to intercept all communication between France and Italy, thus preparing beforehand for the night of the 24th of August, and arranging the means of preventing the flight of their victims and the arrival of any letters from Italy (where the plan had been no doubt submitted to the approbation of some superior power) which might serve to put the Protestants on their guard. Other letters of the King and Mandelot throw additional light on a matter which has been too long controverted. The other documents which the book contains are curious.

The year 1830, which may well be designated *the year of revolutions*, has been an unfortunate one in the annals of French literature. However beneficial the results of the memorable week of July may *ultimately* prove to the liberties and permanent interests of the nation, it is a melancholy truth that its immediate effects have been most especially disastrous to the cause of literature. This has been proved by the extraordinary number of failures which have taken place among the booksellers in Paris since that time; it falls little short of two hundred. Some relief has been afforded by the loan which was advanced by the government to the commerce of the metropolis. But the results will be more readily seen by a comparison of the books published in 1829 and 1830. The total number of books registered in the weekly list, entitled *Journal de la Librairie*, for the year 1829, was 7823—the same for the year 1830, was 6739. If we take the numbers for the corresponding periods of the two years, the difference will be still more striking.

From January 3 to July 25, 1829, the number was . . .	4651
From January 2 to July 24, 1830	4176
Difference . . .	475
From August 1 to December 26, 1829, there were . . .	3172
While from July 31, (the week of the Revolution,) to December 25, 1830, there were only	2563
Difference . . .	609

Histoire Littéraire de la France. The twelfth volume of this important work, originally published by the Benedictines in 1763, and which has been long out

of print, has been recently reprinted by Firmin Didot. There are no alterations, excepting that in this new edition there are twenty-three pages added, containing sixty-five critical remarks, corrective of omissions and inaccuracies to be found in certain articles in the volume, and which are almost inevitable in these biographical notices. The first volume of this work was published in 1723 by Dom Rivet, who is the author of that and the subsequent volumes, to the ninth inclusive, which last was published in 1750, five years after his death, by Taillander; the tenth is by Clemencet; the eleventh by Clemencet and Clement; the twelfth by Clement; the thirteenth to the sixteenth inclusive, (which have appeared since 1814,) and the seventeenth, not yet published, but in a state of forwardness, were edited by Messrs. Brial, Ginguené, Pastoret, Daunou, Amaury Duval, Petit Radel, and Emeric David.

Mr. Beltrami, the traveller in Mexico, has recently made a tour to the Pyrenees, accompanied by Professor Boubé, (quere Boué,) and has announced the intention of shortly publishing a description of these celebrated mountains.

The *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Unpublished Works of Diderot* are about to appear in four or five volumes 8vo. These will include the memoirs of his life by his daughter, Madame Vandeul, from which we have already given an extract. One of the most interesting portions of this collection is his correspondence addressed to his mistress, Mademoiselle Volland, in which he was in the habit of noting down a kind of diary of his actions, his labours, and all his ideas. This correspondence embraces twenty-five years of Diderot's life. Several amusing extracts from it have appeared in the *Gazette Litteraire*.

The second livraison of the Chevalier Bronsted's Travels in Greece, the appearance of which, from the long delay that has taken place, was almost despaired of, has at last been published. It contains among other things a description, with plates, of the metopes of the Parthenon at Athens.

The French Academy, in its sitting of the 18th of November last, elected Messrs. Victor Cousin and Viennet to the seats vacant by the decease of the Comte de Segur and M. Fourier.

A new and handsomely printed collection in 8vo. at an extremely cheap price, of the best French Classics, is just announced by Messrs. Treuttel and Würtz, at Paris. The following are some of the advantages of this collection, which will commence with the *chefs-d'œuvre* of the French Theatre:

1. The best works *only* will be given of each author, and for this purpose the Editors have been compelled to reject several productions of various authors, that are either erroneously attributed to them, or are unworthy of their otherwise deserved reputation.
2. The text will be accurately printed, from the best editions.
3. Biographical Notices, for the most part original, will be given of the life and character of each author, together with a systematic table of contents.
4. The type and paper will be in a corresponding style of neatness and beauty.
5. A beautiful and well-engraved portrait will be given of each author.
6. And, above all, the chief recommendation of this edition will be its *cheapness*.

The object of this Collection is to place it within the reach of every description of readers; and at the present period, when the cultivation of the mental faculties of all classes of the community has received so mighty an impulse, the publishers, we trust, are not mistaken in anticipating a rapid and extensive sale,

both in France and in foreign countries. The dramatic portion will consist of 23 volumes, 8vo., the price of each volume, containing on the average 400 pages, being only 4s.! From the 1st of March, 1831, two volumes will be published regularly every month. For the sake of those who may wish to have an edition printed on still finer paper, an edition is prepared at 4s. 6d. per volume.

The following is the arrangement of the dramatic portion :—

Œuvres de Molière, 7 vols. 8vo. with portrait.
Œuvres Choisis de P. Corneille, 4 vols. 8vo. with portrait.
Œuvres de J. Racine, 5 vols. 8vo. with portrait.
Théâtre Choisi de Voltaire, 7 vol. 8vo. with portrait.

The whole Collection, it is supposed, will not exceed eighty volumes.

GERMANY.

The second volume of the second edition of Mr. Niebuhr's Roman History has lately been published. Contrary to the intention which the author had expressed in the preface to the first volume, it has been greatly enlarged and remodelled throughout, so as to be almost as much a new work as the previous part. The internal history is brought down to 374, A.U.C.; the military history to 384, A.U.C. The account of the Licinian rogations, with which the first edition of the second volume closed, and which form a great epoch in Roman history, is not, therefore, included in the new edition.

The author states, in his preface, that as this volume has appeared three years later than he had intended, some explanation is due to the well-wishers to his work, who might lament so long a delay. This has arisen from the conviction which he acquired in attentively revising the second volume for publication, that "a substantial and credible history might be established from the beginning of the period which it embraces;" and that consequently it would reward the labour of the historian to examine minutely into every detail of the historical narrative. For this new labour, however, he had become in some measure unfitted, by the uninterrupted exertions of sixteen months devoted to the first volume; and he felt the necessity of a change of subject, which he found in the new edition of the Byzantine Historians. Some time afterwards, when his power of useful application had returned, and the manuscript for the first sheets of the second volume were ready for the press, a fire which broke out in his house at midnight consumed these papers. The notes were, however, preserved, and the loss restored by the labour of seven weeks. "At other times (says Mr. Niebuhr,) this delay would not have had any effect on the progress of my work; but I had only completed two-thirds of this task, when the madness of the French Court broke the talisman with which the demon of revolution lay spell-bound: the rest was written in order to perform a duty in finishing that which had been begun; and with a constant effort to keep off the anxious cares with which I was haunted, for the destruction which threatened all property, and the dearest and happiest relations of social life. The first volume was written in a season of perfect tranquillity, and in the grateful and perfect enjoyment of it, in the most complete security for the future: now, if God does not providentially interfere, we see before us an impending ruin, such as befell the Roman world about the middle of the third century of our era; an annihilation of prosperity, of freedom, of civilization, and of science."

Such were the gloomy forebodings which occupied the mind of this great historian at the publication of the last work which he has been permitted to

complete. The hopes which he there expresses of continuing his labours on Roman history can now no longer be realized:

"A greater Power than we can contradict
Has thwarted his intents."

It seldom happens that a man of a comprehensive and vigorous mind, of great acquirements, of unwearied industry, and of honest and upright character, is cut off in the midst of his useful and honourable career, without such a loss suggesting a painful regret that the hand of death should fall there, while it spares the ignorant, the indolent, and the mischievous. But it is no less unwise than it is impious to cherish such an involuntary feeling, and to cavil at one out of the numerous forms of evil which surround us: we must in this, as in other like cases, bow, without repining or inquiry, to the inscrutable decrees of Providence.

Mr. Niebuhr states, in his preface, that the manuscript of his history is nearly completed up to the first Punic war. We trust that this remaining part of his labours will be given to the public as a posthumous work. But we despair of this history being continued in a style worthy of its beginner; there is no one left who can bend the bow of Ulysses.

The Annual assemblage of the Society of German Naturalists and Physicians took place in September last at Hamburgh. The first meeting was held on the 18th, in the Great Hall of the Exchange, the galleries of which were filled with spectators, and was attended by more than 490 members, of which number above 250 were foreigners. Among these were Professors Berzelius, of Stockholm, and Agardh, of Lund, Count Sternberg, of Prague; besides several men of science from London, Edinburgh, Copenhagen, Vienna, and even from Baltimore, in the United States. Among the representatives of the German Universities there were Professors Oken, Jacquin, Lichtenstein, Pfaff, Harless, Osiander, Mertens, Tiedemann, Brandes, &c. Several of the Russian professors attended, such as Fischer, of Moscow, Fischer of St. Petersburgh, Struve, of Dorpat, and Bornstorf, of Helsingfort; also Professors Sazochy, Emile, and Isubert from Warsaw. The burgomaster, Bartels, one of the most influential and well-informed citizens of Hamburgh, acted as president of the assembly. Four public sittings were held, at each of which some discourses of a nature generally interesting were delivered. At the last sitting, on the 26th, it was settled that the next year's meeting should take place at Vienna, the Emperor having signified through Count Sternberg his desire to that effect, and that the Austrian government would be gratified by the opportunity of showing every attention to the members of the assembly.

The most perfect harmony reigned among the members who attended on this occasion, and it is to be hoped that the exchange of ideas, of observations and discoveries which took place between them, will be attended with great benefit to science; the ties which should unite them must have been cemented, and it is not saying too much that some petty jealousies and scientific rivalries have been banished by this personal intercourse. The Senate of Hamburgh, and especially the president of the Society, deserve the highest praise for the kind reception which they gave to the members, and the attentions of every sort with which they loaded them during their stay.

A very beautiful lithographic map of the Course of the Rhine, from Huningen to Lauterburg, in nineteen sheets, has recently been completed by Herder, of Friburg.

Dr. Brand, Professor at Bonn, has just published, in 2 vols. 8vo., a General Repertory of the whole science of Heraldry, with critical and other remarks,

and directions relative to the books and literary history connected with it. The work contains 3331 articles arranged according to countries, with appendixes, indexes, &c. It seems to be a most laborious production, and entitles the compiler to the thanks of every heraldic student.

The first volume of a Collection of celebrated Criminal Trials, by the Chevalier de Feuerbach, has recently appeared at Giessen.

HOLLAND.

Katherine Wilhelmina Bilderdijk, the wife of the celebrated veteran poet of Holland, died at Haarlem, on the 16th of last April. Mivrouw Bilderdijk was herself a woman of considerable literary abilities, and distinguished by her talent for poetry. Her productions, however, have generally been printed along with those of her husband. In 1816, she obtained the prize offered by the Letterkundige Genootschap at Ghent, for the best poem on the Battle of Waterloo. Her longest performance is her translation of Southey's 'Roderick, the Last of the Goths,' which is also generally considered her masterpiece.

Few works of more general interest have lately issued from the Dutch press than Olivier's *Land en Zeetogten in Nederlands Indie.* These volumes give the result of the author's travels in Java and the Molucca islands, in the years from 1817 to 1826 inclusive, and contain a variety of important details relative to the geography and political state of that portion of the eastern world. His descriptions are frequently very animated and graphic. He depicts Amboyna as quite an earthly paradise, combining the advantages of extreme healthiness of climate, the most luxuriant vegetation, and scenery rivalling that of Switzerland.* Of a very different description is his account of an eruption of Mount Tomboro, on the island of Sumbawa, which seems to have exceeded in horrors all that the imagination can conceive. The shock was felt within a circumference of more than twelve geographical miles, and produced in its vicinity the most terrible convulsions. The relation the author gives us of the Alfocrezes, one of the native tribes inhabiting the island of Banda, is exceedingly curious. From a most inhuman law, requiring a human head to be delivered to their priests, before any one may marry, it might be concluded that this race were the most barbarous savages; whereas they are remarkable for chastity, honesty, temperance, gratitude, and fidelity, and the revolting, sanguinary custom just mentioned, only shows how far a degrading superstition can triumph over nature and humanity, even in a virtuous people. A work so full of information as the present will hardly be confined to its original language.

Holland is not greatly behind either Germany or England in the number of her literary annuals, and although they cannot compete with those of the former country in the talent they display, and are infinitely inferior to our own in the article of embellishments, several of them possess considerable merit. The *Belgische Muzen-Almanak*, which first appeared in 1826, is one of the most popular, and generally contains some pieces by Tollens, Bilderdijk, and other admired poets. Of a similar character is the *Nederlandsche Muzen-Almanak*, and some of the contributors to the preceding work have also pieces in this.

---

* One half of the population are now Protestant Christians; a proof that the Dutch government have not been indifferent to the spiritual concerns of the natives.

The volume for 1830 contains many productions of merit, particularly Borman's *Onafhankelijheid des Dichters*, and one or two poems by Madame Bilderdijk, Tollens, Immergeel, and Van der Hoope, while the short biographical notices of Pruimers, Cleve, Rielberg, Nierstrasz, and other poets who have died within the last two years, impart to it an additional value. The *Groningen Studenten Almanak* is also a poetical authology. That entitled *Voor het Schoone en Goede*, which has now been published for a number of years, is conducted more upon the plan of our own annuals, but the prose department is generally inferior to the other. The last volume, however, is, in this respect, far superior to its predecessors, and contains a very clever tale, by Louwense, *De Minnezangster*, or Minstrel, which gives an animated and faithful picture of the province of Gelderland, in the fourteenth century. Neither are the engravings without merit. The *Almanak tot Nut en Verpoozing* has, likewise, a variety of prose articles. Besides the above, there are several others adapted to the tastes of different classes of readers; one of the best is Hazelhoff's *Tijdkorter*, which is now nearly past its teens, the volume for the present year being the nineteenth.

The poets of Holland are far more prolific than any other class of its literary men. Tollens has lately published another collection of poetical pieces by him, in two volumes, many of which will add to his former reputation; none detract from it. Several of them, indeed, are fraught both with true poetical inspiration and deep religious feeling. Nearly the same remark will apply to Warnsnick's *Gedichten*. In general, the subjects are rather too much what are designated "occasional poems," to please an English taste; yet there are many noble pieces among them, particularly that entitled the "Constellations." Although of a different turn of genius from the two preceding writers, Van Hell is a poet of indisputable merit and refined taste. His intimate acquaintance with classical literature manifests itself in his poems, particularly in his lyric compositions, many of which are imitations, or rather revivals of his favourite, Horace, whose spirit seems frequently to animate him, and to have dictated some of his most felicitous passages. Nor is M. Van Hell less admirable as a prose writer, in which character his reputation is established by his two original and exceedingly interesting works, *Plinius Secundus* and *Messala Corvinus*; the former of which, if not the other, has been translated into French.

ITALY.

We have, under the date of Rome, the following publication, in one volume, octavo:—*Memorie Storiche del Ministero, de' due viaggi in Francia, e dell, prigionia nel Forte di S. Carlo in Fenestrelle, del Cardinale Bartolommeo Pacca scritte da lui medesimo. Edizione seconda, riveduta dall' autore e corredata de nuovi documenti.* Cardinal Pacca was Secretary of State to Pius VII., in 1808, when Napoleon, after having occupied Rome by force, began a long course of annoyances and petty warfare against the Pope, who kept himself confined to his palace on the Quirinal, and which ended with the latter being carried away in the middle of the night by the gens-d'armes, and taken to Savona. Pacca had the difficult and dangerous task of defending strenuously, by arguments and protestations, the rights and independence of his sovereign. His zeal and abilities drew upon him the wrath of the conqueror, who had him confined for more than two years in the dismal fortress of Fenestrelles, among the Alps of Piedmont; when at last, in 1813, the reverses of Napoleon in-

duced him to come to terms with the Pope, and liberate the Cardinals, it was not without difficulty that he consented to Pacca's release. It was during his captivity that Pacca began to write the memoirs of his ministry, and of the events that followed it. He wished the other Cardinals, who had been concerned in those transactions, to follow his example, in order to form a body of authentic materials for a general history of the times. It appears from some fragments written by the illustrious Gonsalvi, which Pacca has inserted, that that distinguished prelate and statesman had adopted his suggestion. As documents by a witness and a party concerned, the facts related by Cardinal Pacca are valuable to the historian, however partial his judgments may appear to be. The work has produced a sensation in Italy, and is now passing through a third edition.

Lucien Buonaparte, Prince of Canino, having effected some excavations on his estate near Montalto, which district formed a part of ancient Etruria, has been successful in finding a vast quantity of fine vases bearing paintings and inscriptions, and which appear to be of a similar kind to those found at Nola, in Campania. He has now published an account of this collection, in a 4to. volume, *Musæum Etrusque de Lucien Buonaparte, fouilles de* 1828-9, with forty-two plates of the inscriptions; and has also begun a splendid work in folio, which will contain a hundred coloured plates representing the paintings. The latter comes out in monthly numbers of five plates each, and is sold by Piatti, of Florence. This discovery has revived the question about the so called Etruscan vases, which the archæologist Zannoni contends are Greek, or at least of Greek invention, and not specimens of original Etruscan art anterior to Greek civilization, as the Prince of Canino seems inclined to think them.

C. Troya, of Naples, announces the speedy publication of an important work to which he has devoted years of researches, during which he has visited all the principal libraries of Italy. The subject is *a Political History of Italy, and of the social condition of the people under the dominion of the Longobards.* This has been, till now, the most obscure part of the history of that country.

The learned Tuscans, with Professor Rosellini at their head, who accompanied M. Champollion in his Egyptian scientific expedition, in 1828-9, are about publishing the account of *their* researches and discoveries, under the title of *Relazione del viaggio fatto in Egitto e in Nubia dallu spedizione scientifico-litteraria Toscana negli anni* 1828-9. It will consist of two volumes.

The long-announced continuation of Guicciardini's History of Italy, by Carlo Botta, may soon be expected to appear, as the eighth part of the MS., which comes down to the year 1748, has been delivered by the author to the society which has undertaken the publication. The ninth, or concluding part remains, which will come to the epoch of the French revolution, and thus join Botta's already published history of Italy from that time to the peace of 1814.

The Marchese Vacuni announces, at Rome, a new and splendid edition of *Vitruvius*, in five volumes, folio, printed at his own press, established for the purpose, and illustrated with 140 plates. The first volume will contain an apparatus of dissertations relative to the author's life, character and style, the various MSS. editions and translations, and the more difficult passages of his work. The second and third will contain the ten books of the treatise *De Architect ura*, the text carefully revised by a critical collation. The fourth will contain a collection of various readings from forty-five MSS. and printed editions, an ancient compendium of the architecture of Vitruvius, ancient inscriptions

relative to architecture, and various indexes. The fifth will contain the 140 plates from entirely new designs, and partly taken from monuments for the express purpose.

Another handsome edition of this classic has been recently completed at Udino, in four large 4to volumes, each consisting of two parts. The editor is Signor Simeon Stratico, and the Italian Journals speak very highly of the execution of it.

SPAIN.

NECROLOGY.

CEAN-BERMUDEZ.—So little is known of the past and present state of the fine arts beyond the Pyrenees, even to those who are conversant with their history in the rest of Europe, that many will perhaps now learn, for the first time, that Spain has recently lost, in the person of Cean-Bermudez, one of the most ingenious critics and industrious historians of art, whose labours have opened to the inquirer highly interesting and valuable stores of hitherto inaccessible information. Juan Agustin Cean-Bermudez was born at Gijon, a sea-port of Asturia, in the year 1749, and was educated in the Jesuits' College at Oviedo, where he remained till the age of sixteen. It was his good fortune to become the early and intimate friend of one whose name reflects glory on his country, and whose virtues were an honour to humanity—his townsman, Jovellanos. The latter lived to experience the base ingratitude of that country; Cean-Bermudez to have the melancholy task of recording how ill requited were the services of the enlightened and zealous patriot. After having spent two years with Jovellanos, at Alcala, and one at Seville, Cean-Bermudez accompanied him to Madrid, where, in 1778, Jovellanos was appointed chief judge of the king's court. Whether he continued with him in any official capacity, is not known; but he afterwards proceeded with him to Seville, and it was among the treasures of art with which that city abounds, that Cean-Bermudez first turned his attention to those studies in which he afterwards distinguished himself. During his residence there he applied himself to architecture, anatomy, and drawing; and, in conjunction with some other individuals, succeeded in founding an academy for the arts of design, which was afterwards further established by royal confirmation from Charles III. He was now advised by Jovellanos to visit Madrid for the purpose of availing himself of Mengs's instructions in painting, which he accordingly did; but he did not long enjoy that advantage, as, within a few months, Mengs repaired to Rome. About this period he obtained, through the influence of his friend and patron, who had returned to the capital, some situation in the Bank of San Carlos, in which, uncongenial as it must have been to one of his turn of mind, he continued till the end of the year 1790, when he was sent to arrange the papers in the archives of the Office of India Affairs at Seville, a labour that occupied him during the following seven years. The intelligence and assiduity, however, which he displayed in this protracted task, secured for him the appointment to the secretaryship for India Affairs at Madrid, to which he had been recommended by Jovellanos. The subsequent disgrace and exile of the latter, caused also the removal of Cean-Bermudez, who was obliged to quit Madrid, and to resume his labours at Seville. He continued to discharge his official employments with punctuality during the stormy period that ensued, and until he finally retired on a pension. From that time he devoted himself exclusively to those studies, the fruits of which have so materially enriched that depart-

ment of literature. These were the solace and occupation of his declining years, until they were interrupted by a stroke of apoplexy, in September 1827, which, however, he survived two years, his death not taking place till December 3d, 1829. When we consider for how long a period Cean-Bermudez was engaged in occupations so remote from the course of his favourite studies, we cannot but wonder at the industry which enabled him to complete so many works, several of them not only voluminous, but demanding great application and research. His first undertaking was a Biographical Dictionary of Spanish Artists, (*Dicionario Historico de los mas ilustres Professores*, &c.) which appeared at Madrid, in six volumes 8vo., 1800; and in executing it he could derive but little assistance from the meagre work by Palomino, the only previous one of the same kind. In 1804, he published his '*Descripcion Artistica de la Catedral de Sevilla*,' which is exceedingly interesting and valuable for the sketch it contains of the history of the different styles of architecture; and in the same year he also published a description of another very remarkable building at Seville, the Hospitel del Sangre. To this succeeded, in 1806, an essay on the Seville School of Painting. His next literary production was one to which we have already alluded—the biography of his patron Jovellanos, entitled '*Memorias para la Vida*,' &c. 1814. But his last and most important work is a history of the architects and architecture of Spain, in four volumes 4to., 1829. This was originally commenced by Llaguno, who terminated his history with the year 1734; but Cean-Bermudez not only brought it down to 1825, but made so many additions, and inserted so many notes, that at least three-fourths of it are entirely his own. Besides the above and a few other publications, which we have not named, he left in manuscript a history of the Roman Antiquities of Spain, which will shortly appear; a General History of Painting, a Catalogue Raisonné of his own collection of engravings, and an architectural work.

RUSSIA.

The Russian Government has offered a prize of 25,000 rubles, (about 1000*l.* sterling) for the best "Treatise on the Cholera Morbus," a disease which has lately made dreadful ravages throughout the empire, and threatens, it is said, to overspread all Europe. The following is a translation of the announcement of the prize:—

"The Imperial Government of Russia proposes, on behalf of suffering humanity, to the physicians of Russia, Germany, Hungary, Italy, France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, that they shall write a treatise on the *Cholera Morbus*, embracing—1. a clear and minute description of the *nature* of the disease. 2. The causes which produced it. 3. *Description* of the manner of its propagation. 4. Whether it is contagious or not. 5. The means of *preservation* from its attack. 6. The method of cure.

"The treatises may be written in Russian, Latin, German, French, English, or Italian, and must be forwarded to the address of the 'The Medical Council at St. Petersburg,' before the 1st (13th) September, 1831. The name of the author to be sent in a separate note, carefully sealed up. The author of the treatise, which shall be considered to have best answered the terms of this invitation, shall receive the above reward of 25,000 rubles in bank assignations."

A complete edition of Von Visin's works, in 4 vols. 8vo., with a portrait and a facsimile of his hand-writing, has just appeared, and contains, besides many productions of which only extracts had previously been given to the

public, or which were scattered in various periodicals, several that have never been before printed. All admirers of Russian literature must feel grateful to M. Beketov, the editor, for this collection of the writings of one of the most original and talented authors of the age of Catherine. This edition is further enriched by a biographical notice of Von Visin's life, and some account of his literary works.

Professor Dvigubsky has commenced a work that has long been a desideratum, and which cannot fail to add many important contributions to the study of zoology, namely a "Description of all the Animals of the Russian Empire." It is computed that the whole will extend to about eight fasciculi, two of which appear in the course of a twelvemonth; and it will be illustrated by about 1000 figures of the most remarkable species. The first portion contains the Mammalia, and in point of execution leaves little to be desired, except its references to the works of such naturalists as have previously noticed the same species. The descriptions are drawn up with precision and judgment; without being diffuse, they are satisfactory, and evince great industry and observation. Yet perhaps it is to be regretted that the author has not given in Latin a brief recapitulation of the distinctive marks of each species, since in that case his work would have been of material service to foreigners as well as to his own countrymen. M. Dvigubsky is already known by his Primitiæ Faunæ Mosquensis, 1802: Prodromus Faunæ Rossicæ, 1804; and by two preceding publications on the indigenous animals of Russia; he therefore brings to the present undertaking the experience of years and the fruits of long application.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM OCTOBER, 1830, TO JANUARY, 1831, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY.

1 Constant, Benj., de la Religion, considérée dans sa source, ses formes, et ses développements. Tome IV. V. 8vo. 20s.
This work is now completed in 5 vols. price 2l. 8s.
2 De la Religion Saint-Simonienne. 8vo.
3 Monod (Pasteur de l'Eglise Reformée de Lyons), Sermons. 8vo.
4 Köthe, Dr. F. A. Concordia. Die Symbolischen Bücher der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche mit Einleitungen herausgegeben. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 7s. 6d.
5 Konstitutionelle Kirchen-zeitung aus Bayern, Herausgegeben von A. C. Lerchenmütter. gr. 4to. *Kempten.* 15s.
6 Körner, J. Kaiser Julian der Abtrünnige oder die traurigen Folgen der Verunstaltung des reinen Christenthums. gr. 8vo. *Schneeberg.* 10s.
7 Döring, D. die deutschen Kanzelredner des XVIIIten und XIXten Jahrhunderts. gr. 8vo. *Neustadt.* 11s. 6d.
8 Metger, C. H. das angeborne sinnliche Verderben des Menschen aus der Erfahrung und Bibel. gr. 8vo. *Leer.* 10s.
9 Quix, Ch. Necrologium Ecclesiæ B. M. V. Aquensis. gr. 4to. *Aachen.* 3s.
10 Geist aus Luthers Schriften, herausgegeben von D. Zimmerman. III Bd. 3te abthl. gr. 8vo. *Darmstadt.* 5s.
11 Palm, v. d. über die Mosaische Erzählung von der Schöpfung der Welt. gr. 8vo. *Wesel.* 2s. 6d.
12 Ritter, D. Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte. 11ten Bdes. 2te abthl. gr. 8vo. *Bonn.* 7s. 6d.
13 Röhr, D. Christologische Predigten. gr. 8vo. *Weimar.* 7s. 6d.
14 Fiedler, F. Fabula ecclesiastico-historica. Seriem XIX. sæculorum synchronistice exhibens. gr. fol. *Leipzig.* 2s. 6d.
15 Die Fünf Bücher Mosis; verständiget von S. P. Paulus. gr. 8vo. *Cassel.* 4s.
16 Paulini a S. Josepho, Cler. reg. Scholarum piarum præpositi gener. orationes XXIII. habitæ in Archygymnassio Romanæ sapientiæ, ed. C. F. Chr. Wagner. Vol. I. 8vo. maj. *Cassel.* 3s.
17 Daehne, D. de Præscientiæ Divinæ cum Libertate humana concordia. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig.* 4s. 6d.
18 Rosenmüller, D. Handbuch der biblischen Alterthumskunde. 4r Bd. 1ste abthl. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 10s.
19 Spiess, J. C. ausgewählte Predigten. 3 Bde. gr. 8vo. *Franckfurt.* 15s.
20 Rosenmüller, Scholia in V. T. Part IX. vol. II. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig.* 9s.

GERMAN ALMANACKS FOR 1831.

21 Frauentaschenbuch. 10s.
22 Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen. 11s.

23 Urania. 10s.
24 Orphea. 10s.
25 Penelope. 9s.
26 Taschenbuch d. Liebe und Freundschaft. 8s.
27 Rosen. 12s.
28 Vergissmeinnicht. 12s.
29 Rheinisches Taschenbuch. 11s.
30 Veilchen. 7s. 6d.
31 Politisches Taschenbuch. 8s.
32 Almanach dramatischer Spiele. 6s. 6d.
33 Taschenbuch ohne Titel. 7s.
34 Historisches Taschenbuch. 10s.

LAW, JURISPRUDENCE, AND ADMINISTRATION.

35 Pinheiro Ferreira, Précis d'un Cours de Droit public interne et externe. 8vo.
36 Locré, Législation Civile, Criminelle et Commerciale de la France. Tomes XXII. XXIII. 8vo. 19s.
37 De Félice, Leçons de Droit de la Nature et des Gens. 2 vol. 8vo.
38 Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises, depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789. Tome XXI. 8vo.
39 Procès des derniers Ministres de Charles X. 2 vol. 8vo. 16s. 6d.
40 Warnkönig, Prof. L. A. Doctrina juris philosophica aphorismis distincta in usum scholarum. 8vo. maj. *Aachen.* 7s.
41 Heise und Cropp, Juristische Abhandlungen, mit Entscheidung des Ober-appellationsgerichts der vier freien Städte Deutschlands. 2r Bd. gr. 8vo. *Hamb.* 15s.
42 Corpus juris civilis ins Deutsche übersetz von Dr. C. E. Otto. 4s hft. gr. 8vo. *Leipsig.* 2s. 6d.
43 Hartizsch, D. das römische Privatrecht. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 17s.
44 Gaji, Institutionum Comment. IV. a A. G. Heffter. 12mo. *Bonn.* 3s.
45 Mayer, D. das römische Recht nach seinen allgemeinen Grundsätzen. gr. 8vo. *Stuttgardt.* 12s. 6d.

MORALS, EDUCATION, AND POLITICAL ECONOMY.

46 Garnier, Précis d'un Cours de Psychologie. 8vo. 5s. 6d.
47 Doctrine de Saint-Simon. 1ère Année. 8vo. 2de Edit. 1l. 10s
48 Krug, W. T. System der practischen Philosophie. 1r theil. Rechtslehre. 2te auflage. gr. 8vo. *Königsberg.* 9s.
49 Corpus Philosophorum optimæ notæ, qui ab restauratione litterarum ad Kantium usque floruerunt. Ed. A. G. Froerer. T. III. sect. 1. 8vo. maj. *Stuttgardt.* 7s.
50 Ohlert, D. der Idealrealismus als Metaphysik. 1r theil. gr. 8vo. *Neustadt.* 6s
51 Elvenich, D. die Moralphilosophie. 1r Bd. gr. 8vo. *Bonn.* 7s. 6d.

MATHEMATICS, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

52 Guillond, Traité de Chimie appliquée aux Arts et Métiers, et principalement à la fabrication des acides sulfuriques, &c. IIde partie. 12mo.
53 Pouillet, Elémens de Physique Expérimentale, et de Météorologie. Tome II. 2e partie. 8vo.
54 Barailon, Méthodes nouvelles et faciles de calculer les Progressions génératrices, pour former les puissances et extraire leurs racines, de multiplier et de diviser. 2de Edition, revue, &c. 8vo. 5s.
55 Montucla, Histoire des Recherches sur la Quadrature du Cercle, avec une addition concernant les problèmes de la duplication de la cube et de la trisection de l'angle. 8vo. 6s.
56 Rogg, S. Handbuch der Mathematischen Litteratur. Sect. I. 8vo. maj. *Tübing.* 16s.

NATURAL SCIENCES.

57 Cuvier et Valenciennes, Histoire Naturelle des Poissons. Tome VI. 8vo. 13s. 6d.
——— 4to. 18s.
58 Humboldt et Bonpland, Voyage. Sixième partie. Botanique. Révision des Graminées. Livraisons XXI. XXII. XXIII. folio. each 2l. 8s.
59 Geoffroy St. Hilaire et F. Cuvier, Histoire Naturelle des Mammifères, avec des figures originales coloriées, dessinées d'après les animaux vivans. Livr. XI. 4to. 9s.
60 Duperrey, Voyage autour du Monde. Première division. Zoologie, Livr. XIX. folio. 12s.
61 Lesson, Histoire Naturelle des Colibris. Livraison III. 8vo.
62 ——— suivi d'un Supplément à l'Histoire naturelle des Oiseaux Mouches. Livraison I. 8vo. 5s.
63 Almanach du Bon Jardinier pour 1831. 7s.
64 Dictionnaire Classique d'Histoire Naturelle. Tome XVI. 8vo. avec planches. 12s.
65 Guérin, Magasin d'Entomologie, ou Descriptions et Figures d'Insectes inédits ou non encore figurés; ouvrage destiné à établir une Correspondance entre les Entomologistes de tous les pays, &c. Liv. II. 2s. 6d.
66 Duhamel du Monceau, Traité des Arbres Fruitiers; Nouvelle Edition, par Poiteau et Turpin. Livraisons LXV. LXVI. each 30s.
67 Redouté, Choix des plus belles Fleurs prises dans différentes familles du Règne végétal. Livraisons I. à XXIII. each 12s.
68 Wildenow, D. Grundriss der Kräuterkunde zu Vorlesungen entworfen. 3r praktischer theil. 8vo. *Berlin.* 12s. 6d.
69 Hessel, D. Krystallometrie der Krystallonomie und Krystallographie, mit 11 kupfern. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 9s.
70 Presl, C. B. Symbolæ botanicæ. Fasc. I. folio maj. *Prag.* 1l. 1s.
71 Meigen, J. W. Systematische Beschreibung der bekannten europäischen zweiflügeligen Insekten. 6r theil, mit 12 steintafeln. gr. 8vo. *Hamm.* 17s. 6d.
72 Brown, R. Vermischte Botanische Schriften übersetzt von Dr. Nees von Esenbeck. IVr Bd. gr. 8vo. *Nürnburg.* 17s.
73 Frank, J. C. Rastadts Flora. 8vo. *Heidelberg.* 4s.
74 Wiedemann, D. aussereuropäische zweiflügelige Insekten. 2r theil. gr. 8vo. *Hamm.* 1l. 3s.
75 Zimmermann, D. Grundzüge der Phytologie. gr. 8vo. 17s.
76 Martius, Dr. von, Amœnitates botanicæ Monacenses. 3te liefer, mit 4 Kupfern. gr. 8vo. *Frankfurt.* 7s. 6d.
77 Germar, D. Grundriss der Krystalkunde. Mit 11 Kupfern. 8vo. *Halle.* 7s. 6d.

MEDICAL SCIENCES

78 Bourdon, Principes de Physiologie comparée. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
79 Menière, l'Hotel Dieu de Paris en Juillet et Aout 1830: Histoire de ce qui s'est passé dans cette hôpital pendant et après les trois grandes journées. 8vo. 8s.
80 Denis, Recherches Expérimentales sur le Sang Humain. 8vo. 4s.
81 Cruveilhier, Anatomie Pathologique du Corps Humain. Liv. IX. folio. 9s.
82 Richard, Elémens d'Histoire Naturelle Médicale. 2 vols. 8vo. 18s.
83 Devreux, Mémoire sur les Tumeurs sanguines de la vulve et du vagin. 8vo. 3s. 6d.
84 Dictionnaire Historique de la Médecine Ancienne et Moderne, ou Précis de l'Histoire général technologique et littéraire de la Médecine, suivi de la Bibliographie médicale du 19e siècle, et d'un répertoire bibliographique par ordre de matières. Tome I. 2e partie. 8vo. 6s.
85 Béral, Nomenclature et Classification Pharmaceutiques. 4to. 12s.
86 Muro y Castella, Etude sur le Système organico-vital de l'Homme. 8vo. 4s. 6d.
87 Baudelocque, Traité des Hémorrhagies Utérines de l'Utérus, qui surviennent pendant la grossesse, dans le cours du travail et après l'accouchement. 8vo.

88 Tiedemann, Traité Complet de Physiologie de l'Homme. 2 vol. 8vo. 11s.
89 Orfila et Lesueur, Traité des Exhumations Juridiques et Considérations sur les changemens physiques que les Cadavres éprouvent en se pourrissant dans la terre, dans l'eau, dans les fosses d'aisance, et dans le fumier. 2 vol. 8vo. 10s. 6d.
90 Devergie, Clinique de la Maladie Syphilitique. Liv. XIV. 4to. 8s.
91 Descourtilz, de l'Impuissance et de la Stérilité. 2 vol. 8vo. 12s.
92 Aulagnier, Dictionnaire des Substances Alimentaires indigènes et exotiques, et de leurs propriétés, &c. 2 vol. 8vo. 12s.
93 Foy, Cours de Pharmacologie. 2 vol. 8vo. 16s.
94 Meyer, Dr. F. J. F. Phytotomie. Mit 14 Kupfern. 8vo. *Berlin.* 15s.
95 Homöopathische und allopathische Leucht-und Brandkugeln. 1r Bd. 1s hft. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 2s. 6d.
96 Hacker, Dr. Litteratur der syphilitischen Krankheiten vom Jahre 1794 bis mit 1829. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 7s.
97 Rosas Dr. Handbuch der theoretischen und praktischen Augenheilkunde. 3 Bde. gr. 8vo. *Wien.* 2l. 2s.
98 Hüter, D. die dynamischen Geburtsstörungen. 2 Bde. gr. 8vo. *Berlin.* 16s.
99 Thomassen, D. Abhandlung über die Masern. gr. 8vo. *Osnabrück.* 5s.
100 Groos, Dr. die Lehre von der Mania sine delirio. 8vo. *Heidelberg.* 4s.
101 Handschuh, D. die Syphilitischen Krankheits-formen und ihre Heilung. gr. 8vo. *München.* 9s.
102 Riedel, D. Prags Irrenanstalt. gr. 8vo. *Prag.* 5s.
103 Tiedemann, F. Physiologie des Menschen. 1r Bd. gr. 8vo. *Darmstadt.* 17s. 6d.
104 Benedict, D. Bemerkungen über Hydrocele, Sarkocele, und Variocele. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 4s.
105 Brandes, Dr. die Mineralquellen zu Falinhausen. 8vo. *Lemgo.* 4s.
106 Böer, Dr. L. J. Libri de Arte Obstetricia. 8vo. maj. *Wien.* 13s.
107 Römer, D. A. Handbuch der Anatomie des Menschlichen Körpers. 2 Bde. gr. 8vo. *Wien.* 17s.
108 Bonnet, Dr. über die Natur und Heilung der Leber-Krankheiten. gr. 8vo. *Ilmenau.* 3s.

MILITARY.

109 Latour d'Auvergne, Mémoire sur l'Organisation Militaire. 8vo.
110 Manuel des Gardes Nationales de France, contenant l'Ecole de Bataillon, &c. 2 vol. 7s.
111 ——— du Garde National à Cheval. 18mo. 3s. 6d.
112 Oostkamp, J. A. het Leven, de voornaamste Daden en Letgevallen van den Kommandeur Jan von Galen, Heer van Papendorp, met Platen. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 6s.
113 Nissen, N. Synchronistische Tafeln der Universal-Geschichte. imp. fo. 1l. 15s.
114 Blesson, L. grosse Befestigungskunst. 1ste abthlg. 8vo. *Berlin.* 17s. 6d.
115 Geschichte der Kriege in Europa seit 1792 bis Ludwig XVI. 4r theil. mit Plänen. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 15s.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTS AND SCIENCES.

116 Prechtl, J. J. technologische Encyclopädie. 2r theil. gr. 8vo. *Stuttgardt.* 17s. 6d.
117 Unger, D. Uebungen aus der angewandten Mathematik. 1r Bd. mit 5 Kupfern. gr. 8vo. *Berlin.* 15s.
118 Schmöger, F. von, die ersten Elemente der Astronomie und Chronologie. gr. 8vo. *Regensburg.* 5s.

FINE ARTS.

119 Mionnet, Description des Médailles Antiques Grecques et Romaines, avec leur degré de rareté. Tome V. 8vo. 1l. 12s.
120 Vues prises dans les Pyrénées Françaises, dessinées par J. Jourdan, et accompagnéesd'un texte descriptif par E. Froissard. Liv. IV. V. folio. each 8s.

121 Hittorf et Zanth, Architecture Antique de la Sicile. Liv. VIII. folio.
122 Clarac, Mélanges des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, ou Observations sur plusieurs bas-reliefs antiques du Musée Royal du Louvre, &c. 8vo.
123 Reveil, Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture. Livraisons 99 à 108.
124 Ecole Anglaise, Recueil de Tableaux, Statues et Bas-Reliefs des plus célèbres Artistes Anglais depuis le temps d'Hogarth jusqu'à nos jours, gravé à l'eau-forte sur acier, accompagné de Notices descriptives, critiques et historiques en Français et en Anglais. Liv. I. à VIII. 8vo. each 1s. 6d.
125 Girault-Duvivier, Encyclopédie Elémentaire de l'Antiquité, ou Origine, Progrès Etat de Perfection des Arts et des Sciences chez les Anciens, d'après les meilleurs auteurs. 4 vol. 8vo. 1l. 12s.
126 Monumens Funéraires Choisis dans les Cimetières de Paris et les principales Villes de France: Liv. I. à IX. each 3s. 6d.
127 Cornelius, Peter von, Umrisse zu Dante's Paradies. Mit 9 Kupfern. gr. 4to. *Leipsig.* 9s.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.

128 Précis Historique, Généalogique et Littéraire de la Maison d'Orléans. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
129 Annuaire Historique Universel pour 1829. 8vo. 16s.
130 Duperrey, Voyage autour du Monde. IIIe Division. Historique. Livraison VI. 16s.
131 Schoell, Cours d'Histoire des Etats Européens depuis le bouleversement de l'Empire Romain d'Occident jusqu'en 1789. Tomes VII. à IX. 8vo. each 10s.
To be completed in 30 vols.
132 Polacki, Fragmens de l'Histoire de Pologne. Marina Muiszech. Liv. I. 8s.
133 Dictionnaire Complet, Géographique, Statistique et Commercial du Royaume de France et de ses Colonies, &c. Liv. VIII. IX. (NAB—SES). in 18mo.
134 La Garde Royale pendant les évènemens du 28 Juillet au 5 Aout. 1830. Par un Officier employé á l'Etat-Major. 2de édition. 8vo. 4s.
135 Bonnard, Costumes du XIIIe, XIVe, et XVe siècles, &c. Tome II. Liv. I. 4to. 6s. 6d.
136 Rifaud, Voyage en Egypte, en Nubie, et lieux circonvoisins, depuis 1805 jusqu'à 1827. Liv. I. à VIII. folio. each 10s. 6d.
To be completed in 3 vols. folio, each containing 100 plates, and 5 vols. 8vo. of text.
137 St. Hilaire, Voyage dans les Provinces de Rio de Janeiro et de Minas Geraes. 2 vol. 8vo. 20s.
138 De Viel Castel, Collection de Costumes, Armes et Meubles, pour servir à l'Histoire de France, depuis le commencement de la Monarchie jusqu'à nos jours. Liv. XXXI. 4to. 16s.
To be completed in 60 parts.
139 Histoire Générale des Voyages, ou Nouvelle Collection des Rélations de Voyage par mer et par terre, mise en ordre et completée jusqu'à nos jours. Par C. A. Walckenaer. Tome XX. 8vo. 9s. 6d.
140 Les Incendies de la Normandie en 1830; Scènes historiques contemporaines. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
141 Schlegel, Fred. Tableau de l'Histoire Moderne, traduit de l'Allemand par M. J. Cherbuliez. 2 vols. 8vo. 20s.
142 Histoire Scientifique et Militaire de l'Expédition Française en Egypte. Tome III. (Expédition Militaire, Tome I.) 8vo.
The work will be completed in 12 vols. 8vo. or 60 livraisons, with an atlas in 4to. each livraison 6s. 6d.
143 Palmiere de Micciché, Pensées et Souvenirs Historiques et Contemporains. Tome IIe. 8vo.
144 Jean Temporal, de l'Afrique, contenant les Navigations des Capitains Portugais et autres faites au dit pays jusqu'aux Indes, tant Orientales qu'Occidentales, parties de Perse, Arabie heureuse, pierreuse et déserte; ensemble la description de la Haute Ethiopie, pays du Grand-Seigneur Prête-Jean, et du noble fleuve du Nil, &c. Tome II. 8vo.

145 C. Cuvier, Introduction à l'Etude de l'Histoire Générale. 8vo.
146 Carlyle, T. Leben Schillers, aus dem Englischen eingeleitet durch Göthe. gr. 8vo *Frankfurt.* 12s. 6d.
147 Stuart, M. romeinsche Geschiedenissen. Nieuwe Uitgave in twintig Deelen. Mit platen. Erste Deel. 8vo. *Leiptig.* 10s.
148 Jahn, A. M. Reise von Mainz nach Egypten, Jerusalem, und Konstantinopol, in 1826—27. 3 hfte. gr. 8vo. *Mainz.* 11s. 6d.
149 Lipowsky, F. J. Lebens-und Regierungsgeschichte des Churfürsten von Bayern, Karl Albert, nachmaligen Kaisers Karl VII. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 7s. 6d.
150 Lorentz, D. Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte. gr. 8vo. *Halle.* 6s.
151 Paganinis Leben und Charakter nach Schottky. Mit Bildniss. gr. 8vo. *Hamburg.* 2s. 6d.
152 Mayerhoff, D. Johann Reuchlin und seine Zeit. Mit einer Vorrede des Prof. Neander. Mit Portrait. gr. 8vo. *Berlin.* 8s.
153 Münch, D. E. Geschichte des Hauses und Landes Fürstenberg. Mit Kupfern. 2r Bd. gr. 8vo. *Aachen.* 10s,
154 Rommel, D. von, Philipp der Grossmüthige, Landgraf von Hessen. 3 vol. gr. 8vo. *Giessen.* 1l. 10s.
155 Pahl, J. G. Geschichte von Wirtemberg. 6 vol. 8vo. *Stuttgardt.* 1l. 4s.
156 Schottky, J. N. Prag wie es war und wie es ist. gr. 8vo. *Prag.* 16s.
157 Wagner, G. W. Statistisch-topographisch-historische Beschreibung des Grossherzogthums Hessen. 3 Bde. gr. 8vo. *Darmstadt.* 10s.
158 Wit, J. Gen. v. Dörring, Fragmente aus meinem Leben III. Bdes. 2te abthlg. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 10s.
159 Lamotte-fouqué, Baronin de, Blick auf Gesinnung und Streben in den Jahren 1774 bis 1778. 8vo. *Stuttgart.* 2s.
160 Adrian, Skizzen aus England. 1r thl. mit Kupfern. gr. 12mo. *Frankf.* 9s.
161 Geschichte der Staatsveränderung in Frankreich unter Ludwig XVI. 5r thl. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 10s.
162 Schmidt, M. J. Geschichte der Deutschen. 26r und 27r thl. 8vo. *Ulm.* 16s.
163 Wiecke, K. W. Abriss der allgemeinen Geschichte. 2te abthl. gr. 8vo. *Glogau.* 5s.
164 Plath, Dr. Geschichte des östlichen Asiens. 1r. thl. gr. 8vo. *Göttingen.* 18s.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE, PHILOLOGY, BIBLIOGRAPHY.

165 Querard, La France Littéraire, ou Dictionnaire Bibliographique, &c. Tome IV. 1ère partie (HA—KY). 8vo. 10s.
166 Bibliothèque Latine Française. Liv. XLVI. (Œuvres Complètes de Cicéron. Oraisons. Tome III.) 8vo. 9s. 6d.
——— Terence, par Amar. Tome II. 8vo. 9s. 6d.
167 Bibliotheca Classica Latina ed Lemaire. L. A. Seneca, pars prima, et M. A. Lucani Pharsalia. Vol. I. 8vo.
168 Meincke, Dr. Aug. Quæstionum Scenicarum Specimen. III. 4to. *Berlin.* 4s. 6d.
169 Plutarchi Vitæ, c. G. H. Schæfer. Vol. VI. gr. 18mo. *Leipzig.* 6s.
170 Poetarum Latinorum, Hostii, Lævii, C. Licinii, Calvi, C. Helvii, Linnæ, C. Valgii, Rufi, Domitii, Marsi, aliorumque vitæ et carminum reliquiæ. Edidit M. A. Weichert. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig.* 10s.
171 Lectiones variæ ex. M. T. Ciceronis editionibus Oxoniensi et Neapolitana descriptæ. Edit. Ernest. min. Supplm. Part. post. Vol. II. et III. gr. 8vo. *Halle.* 1l. 5s.
172 Lünemanns Wörterbuch zu Homers Ilias. 2te Auflage, besorgt von Dr. Ebert. gr. 8vo. *Königsberg.* 5s.
173 Vogel, A. Hercules secundum Græcorum poetas et historicos antiquiores descriptus et illustratus. gr. 4to. *Halle.* 2s. 6d.
174 Blume, Dr. Iter Italicum. 3r Band. 8vo. *Halle.* 6s.
175 Struve, Dr. Quæstionum de dialecto Herodoti Specimen. III. 4to. maj. *Königsberg.* 1s.
176 Truka, F. Praktisches Lehsbuch der cechischen vulgo bömischen Sprache. gr. 8vo. *Brünn.* 2s. 6d.

177 Wolfs, F. A. Vorlesungen über die vier ersten Gesänge von Homer's Ilias. 1r Bd. gr. 8vo. *Bern.* 5s.
178 Aetoli, A. Frugmenta collecta et illustrata ab A. Capellmann. 8vo. maj. *Bonn.* 2s. 6d.
179 Fuss, J. D. Carminum Latinorum. Pars nova. 8vo. maj. *Bonn.* 2s. 6d.
180 Gaal, G. von, Sprichwörterbuch in sechs Sprachen. 8vo. *Wien.* 7s. 6d.
181 Schwedisches Lesebuch, Herausgegeben von Freese und Lappe. Prosaischer theil. gr. 8vo. *Stralsund.* 7s.
182 Wagemann, D. des P. Ovidius fünf Trauerbücher travestirt, mit Allegaten des Latein. Textes. gr. 8vo. *Ludwigsburg.* 5s.
183 M. T. Ciceronis Oratio pro A. Cluentio. Ed. J. Classen. 8vo. maj. *Bonn.* 6s.
184 Justini, M. Martyris et Philosophi Apologiæ. Edid. J. W. J. Braunius. 8vo. maj. *Bonn.* 4s.
185 Lexicon Græco-Latinum manuale ex optimis libris concinnatum. Editio stereotypa. 16mo. *Leipzig.* 7s.
186 Seiler, A. Kurzgefasste Grammatik der Sorben-Wendischen Sprache. gr. 8vo. *Bautzen.* 4s.
187 Taciti, C. C. Dialogus de Oratoribus ed. Orell. 8vo. maj. *Zürich.* 5s.
188 Æschyli Persæ; Quæstion Æschylear. Specimen IV. Auct. Dr. Haupt. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig.* 7s.
189 Fritzsche, F. V. de Babyloniis Aristophanis Commentatio. 8vo. maj. *Leipz.* 2s.
190 Gurlitt, J. Archäologische Schriften, gesammelt von C. Müller. gr. 8vo. *Altona.* 10s.
191 Palairet, E. Thesaurus Ellipsium Latinarum, ed. M. Runkelius. 8vo. maj. *Leipzig.* 7s. 6d.
192 Taciti, C. C. Annales rec. G. H. Walther. IV. Vol. 8vo. maj. *Halle.* 1l. 5s.

MISCELLANEOUS LITERATURE.

193 Eberhard, A. G. Gesammelte Schriften. 20 Bde. 16mo. *Halle.* 1l. 5s.
194 Kurowsky-Eichen, F. v. Sämmtliche Werke. 1r Bd. 8vo. *Gotha.* 5s.
195 Kriegk, G. L. belehrende Darstellungen für das höhere Jugendalter. gr. 8vo. *Frankfurt.* 8s.
196 Paul, Jean, das Schönste und Gediegenste aus seinen Schriften, ausgewählt von D. Döring. 16mo. I.—VI. Bdchen. 18s.
197 Herder G. G. Sämmtliche Werke. 60 Bdchen. 16mo. *Stuttgart.* 3l. 10s.
198 Böhme, Jacob, Sämmtliche Werke, herausgegeben von K. W. Schiebler. 1r Bd. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 4s.

POETRY, THE DRAMA, &c.

199 Almanach des Dames pour l'an 1831. 8s.
200 Boucher de Perthes, Chants Armoricains, ou Souvenirs de Basse-Bretagne. 18mo.
201 Thévenot, Hommages Poétiques et Poésies Diverses. 18mo. 5s. 6d.
202 Almanach des Muses pour l'année 1831. 4s. 6d.
203 Jacinthe Leclere, Chansons. 18mo. 4s.
204 Dupont, La Contre-Lettre, ou le Jesuite, drame en deux actes, 8vo. 2s. 6d.
205 Napoléon à Berlin, ou la Redingote Grise, comédie historique. 8vo. 2s.
206 Dupaty et Regnier, Napoléon, ou Schoenbrunn et Ste. Hélène, drame historique. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
207 Anicet Bourgeois, Napoléon, pièce historique en trois parties. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
208 Mélesville, La Coalition, tableau populaire. 8vo. 2s.
209 Fontan, Jeanne la folle, ou la Bretagne au XIIIe Siècle; drame historique en cinq actes, en vers. 8vo. 5s. 6d.
210 Martinez de la Rosa, Aben Hamet, ou la Révolte des Maures sous Philippe II. drame historique. 8vo. 6s. 6d.
211 Victor Ducange, Le Jésuite, drame en trois actes et en six tableaux. 8vo. 2s. 6d.
212 Oefele, von, Ludwig der Heilige in Ægypten. Schauspiel in 5 Aufzügen. 8vo. *Gera.* 3s.

213 Grabbe, die Hohenstaufen. Ein Cyclus von Tragödien. 2r Bd. 8vo. *Frank.* 7s.
214 Gräffe, K. H. die Reise zum Musikfeste, in neun Gesangen. 12mo. *Zurich.* 4s.
215 Toel, L. dichterische Versuche. 8vo. *Leer.* 8s.
216 Blankensee, G. Graf von, der Wanderer. Gedicht in zwey Gesängen. 8vo. *Breslau.* 2s. 6d.
217 Duller, E. die Wittelsbacher. Balladen. gr. 8vo. *München.* 5s.
218 Immermann, K. Fulifäntchen. Ein Heldengedicht in 3 Gesängen. 12mo. *Hamburg.* 4s.

NOVELS AND ROMANCES.

219 Stendhal, le Rouge et le Noir; Chronique du XIXe Siècle. 2 vol. 8vo. 20s.
220 Zschokke, les Matinées Suisses: seconde Série. Trad. de l'Allemand. 4 vols. 12mo. 16s.
221 Ricard, le Drapeau Tricolore. 4 vol. 12mo. 16s.
222 Adolphe Selmour, ou Cinq Ans de la Vie d'un Homme qui n'est pas Mort. Roman Historique. 3 vol. 12mo.
223 Bouilly, Contes Populaires. 2 vol. 12mo. 12s.
224 Pigault-Le-Brun, Contes à mon Petit-Fils. 2 vol. 12mo.
225 Louise Maignaud, les Etudiens: épisode de la Révolution de 1830. 4 vol. 12mo.
226 Harring Harro, Firn Malthes, des Wildschützen Flucht. Scene in Bayrischen Hochlande. Eine novelle mit Liedern, 8vo. *Leipzig.* 4s. 6d.
227 Herbig, F. de Graven van Herst, eene vorspronkelike Nederlandsche Roman. Erste Deel. gr. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 13s.
228 Liebrocke, A. die Grafen von Löwenhaupt. Gemälde des XIII. Jahrhunderts. 2 thle. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 12mo. 9s.
229 Schopenhauer, G. Novellen. 2 thle. 12mo. *Frankfurt.* 14s.
230 Lessmann, D. Meister Marcola und die Nothlüge. 8vo. *Berlin.* 6s.
231 ——— das Spottgedicht. Ein Nachtstück. 8vo. *Berlin.* 6s.
232 Falco, B. die Rache des Amor. Eine Gallerie von Nachtstücken in Teniers Manier. 2 thle. 8vo. *Gera.* 13s.
233 Müchler, K. der Hausfreund. 8vo. *Berlin.* 5s.
234 ——— Kriminalgeschichten. 3r Bd. 8vo. *Berlin.* 5s.
235 ——— die Bigamie. Eine Kriminalgeschichte. 8vo. *Berlin.* 5s.
235 Schmidt, H. der Dominikaner. 8vo. *Berlin.* 7s. 6d.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

237 Lois de Manon, publiées en Sanscrit, avec des Notes contenant un choix de Variantes et de Scholies, par A. L. Deslongchamps. 3e et dern. partie. 8vo.
238 Vendidad Sade. par E. Burnouf. Texte Zend. Liv. VI. folio. 16s.
239 Bohlen, das alte Indien: mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Ægypten. 2 thle. gr. 8vo. *Königsberg.* 1l. 2s.
240 Schlegel, A. W. von, Indische Bibliothek. 3ten Bdes. 1stes hft. gr. 8vo. *Bonn.* 4s. 6d.
241 Locmanni Fabulæ, ed. Dr. Roediger. 4to. *Halle.* 5s.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR